

# CRUSADER FRESCOES AT CRAC DES CHEVALIERS AND MARQAB CASTLE\*

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with

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and

Architectural Drawings by PIERRE COUPEL

*Dedicated to the Memory of Paul Deschamps*

## INTRODUCTION

### *Brief Description of the Survey of the Frescoes*

A survey of Crusader monuments in Syria-Palestine in the spring of 1978 identified the need for a specialized study focused on the previously reported and newly found frescoes at Crac des

Chevaliers and Marqab Castle. Plans were immediately initiated in the summer of 1978 to conduct an intensive inspection and analysis in conjunction with a fresco conservator.

A formal permit to carry out this work was issued by the Syrian Department of Antiquities through the good offices of Dr. Afif Bahnassi, Director General of Antiquities.<sup>1</sup> Our fieldwork was accomplished between 26 April and 13 May 1979.

My able fresco conservator, Pamela French, of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, made special arrangements to participate in this project at some personal inconvenience. I am grateful to her for taking on this work in the midst

\*Our work was made possible by the counsel and support of many. For the initial survey (1978) I should like to acknowledge with gratitude a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society and a complementary grant from the Research Council of the University of North Carolina. For the study project at Crac and Marqab (1979) I should like to thank A. H. S. Megaw, Dr. Giles Constable, and Dr. Evan Turner, Director of the Ackland Museum at the University of North Carolina, for their counsel in searching for a fresco conservator. For the financial support of the project I should like to express my gratitude especially to Dr. Constable and the Senior Fellows of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, to Dr. George Holcomb, Chairman of the Research Council of the University of North Carolina, and to Dr. J. Richard Judson, Chairman of the Department of Art of the University of North Carolina.

While in Syria we were assisted in Damascus by Dr. Afif Bahnassi, Director General of Antiquities, Dr. Bunni, Chief of the Archeological Service, and Kassem Toueir, Director of Islamic Excavations. In the field we were assisted by Muhammed Raif Haikal, Inspector of Antiquities at Tartus, and Majid Moussli, Inspector of Antiquities at Homs. At the castles themselves Mustafa Kemal Adra and Ahmed at Marqab and M. Suleiman at Crac des Chevaliers helped us in every way.

In Paris I should also like to express my gratitude to Mme. Denise Gazier, Director of the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie of the University of Paris, for facilitating access to some of Pierre Coupel's drawings and photographs now in the collections of her library as part of the personal papers of Paul Deschamps. My thanks to M. Coupel, Mme. Gazier, and the family

of Paul Deschamps for their permission to publish this material.

Last but not least, I would like to thank Dr. James Sauer, formerly Director of the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman, Dr. Erica C. Dodd, Professor of the History of Art at the American University in Beirut, and my nearby colleague, Ann Wharton Epstein of Duke University, for their lively interest in my work. Without the practical guidance and help of Drs. Dodd and Sauer the survey and study project would not have been completed successfully. I am indebted to Dr. Epstein for carefully reading and commenting on the following report, for which I bear full responsibility.

<sup>1</sup>This report is published in compliance with Article 46G of the *Régime des Antiquités en Syrie*: Décret-Loi N° 222 of 26 October 1963, issued by the Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, governing archeological studies in the Syrian Arab Republic.

of an already busy schedule. The results of her investigations are incorporated in the technical and analytical comments found in the descriptive sections of the report.

Our unexpected collaborator in this report is Pierre Coupel.<sup>2</sup> As one of the architects who worked with Paul Deschamps at Crac des Chevaliers, M. Coupel was able to provide me with invaluable information and unpublished documentation on some of the frescoes at Crac. It is an honor for me to be able to include in this report the unpublished work, now over forty-five years old, of a distinguished colleague.

#### *Purpose of This Report*

The objectives of this paper are the following: 1. to report on the little known and essentially unpublished frescoes found at Crac des Chevaliers during the work carried out in 1935 and 1955 by the French and Syrian Antiquities Services under the direction of Paul Deschamps and George Kalamkarian, respectively; and 2. to report on the meager fresco fragments at Crac discovered in 1978 and, more particularly, on the recently discovered (1978) and cleared (1979) frescoes in Marqab Castle. All of these paintings and/or the buildings in which they were found or are currently preserved are under the care and protection of the Antiquities and Museum Service of the Syrian Arab Republic.

For each of the five fresco ensembles considered, we have described the extant fragments and their current condition, commented on the painting technique and materials involved insofar as possible, and discussed in a very preliminary way the art-historical questions that they raise.

The comparative material has necessarily been restricted in view of the nature of this report. Furthermore, the tentative nature of our conclusions cannot be overstressed in light of the current state of Crusader fresco studies. Not only are the survivals in monumental painting extremely fragmentary at Crac and Marqab, but also little attention has so far been paid to Crusader frescoes elsewhere, providing a meager context for discussion of the problems. The important cycles, such as those at Bethlehem or Abu Ghosh, have not yet been

properly published, and a considerable body of unknown and largely unpublished contemporary (12th- and 13th-century) material in what is now Lebanese and contiguous Syrian territory remains unstudied.<sup>3</sup> As a final objective, this report seeks to draw attention to an important but difficult and neglected medium in the study of Crusader art.

## CRAC DES CHEVALIERS<sup>4</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

Investigation of fresco painting at Crac des Chevaliers centered initially on the main chapel off the central courtyard. Paul Deschamps has provided the most detailed study of the chapel itself, the relevant part of which we summarize below. A second chapel, the so-called "baptismal chapel," was also discovered at Crac in 1935 just outside the main entrance to the castle. This structure no longer survives, it being the site of a villager's house, but fresco fragments found in it were saved and are currently stored in the castle itself.

### THE MAIN CHAPEL (figs. 1, 4, 6, 7)

The nave consists of three bays articulated by engaged piers and transverse arches. A slightly pointed barrel vault is separated from the lower walls by a cornice at the springing. The lower walls are articulated in each bay by a blind arch stepped back with a single inner arch (echoing the apse) to the recessed flat nave walls. Originally doors pierced the north walls of the central (now walled up) and north bays, the south wall of the west bay, and the west wall. In the apse the curved lower wall is pierced in the center by a large, slightly pointed window, while above the cornice the apse semi-dome is unopened. Other rectangular windows occur immediately above the cornice in the lower vault zone on the north and south sides of the east bay and on the south side of the center bay. A large, slightly pointed window also pierces the west wall

<sup>3</sup>Professor Erica C. Dodd of the American University in Beirut has been working on a survey-study of this material for a number of years. She intends to publish her work as soon as possible.

<sup>2</sup>Along with his extensive work on ancient sites, which has appeared in various places, Coupel's best known work on Crusader monuments was published in P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des croisés en Terre-Sainte*, II, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1939), *passim*, especially the detailed plans of Beaufort and Subeibe; and *ibid.*, III, *La Défense du Comté de Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche* (1973) (hereafter Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup>We employ the titles for both castles which are currently in common usage. Crac des Chevaliers is modern nomenclature derived from the references to Crac in the medieval texts. Paul Deschamps discusses the orthography and nomenclature in "Les Deux Cracs des Croisés," *JA*, 229 (1937), 494–500. For Crac, see also the comments of T. S. R. Boase, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, IV, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1977), 152.

above the cornice. The interior measurements of the chapel are 21.5 m. long  $\times$  8.5 m. wide.

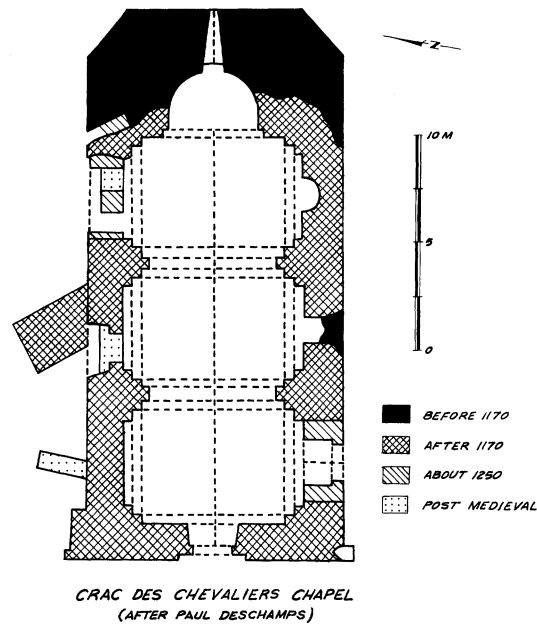
The main chapel as seen today was largely constructed by the Hospitallers who took control of the castle in 1142.<sup>5</sup> Most of the fabric of the building, however, dates after the major earthquake of 29 June 1170. Only the east end of the chapel, with the angular exterior of the chevet, bossed masonry, and central window, and one small central segment of the wall on the south side of the center bay, in front of which today a later Arab *mīhrāb* appears, date before 1170 (fig. A).

In effect, an expanded version of the earlier structure was erected after 1170 with the main entrance in the west end and a smaller door in the north wall, on the left side of the center bay, leading into a curious appendage on the northwest flank of the chapel. Only fragmentary masonry survives from this appendage, but it appears to be contemporary with the north and west walls of the chapel.<sup>6</sup> The north, south, and west walls, the vaults, and most of the apsidal semidome must have been executed between ca. 1170 and the building of the porch off the south side of the western bay shortly after another major earthquake on 20 May 1202.

After 1203 major building again took place at Crac, including, e.g., the entire outer fortification walls. As part of this campaign the main entrance of the chapel was shifted from the west to the south, for which a door was cut in the center of the south side of the western bay with new jamb and arch masonry; and on the exterior the south porch was added. At this time a small, new door was pierced through the left side of the north wall in the east bay, also with new jamb and arch masonry. The purpose of this door was apparently to gain direct internal access to the Room of 120 Meters.

<sup>5</sup>Our discussion is based on examination of the chapel *in situ* along with the following publications: C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, text vol. II (Paris, 1928), 97–98; P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte*, I, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, text vol. (Paris, 1934) (hereafter Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, I, *Le Crac*), 95–96, 197–202, 275 ff.; *idem*, *Terre Sainte Romane*, *Zodiaque=La Nuit des Temps*, 21 (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1964) (hereafter Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*), 84 f., 93 f.; and *idem*, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 156–57, 277. For the dating of major earthquakes during the Crusader period in the Latin East, see H. E. Mayer, "Two Unpublished Letters on the Syrian Earthquakes of 1202," in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. S. A. Hanna (Leiden, 1972), 295–310.

<sup>6</sup>The fact that the masonry outside this north door does not appear to be bonded to the north wall of the chapel and slightly obstructs the passageway on the east side suggests that it was done slightly later than the door, but not much later, based on the stonework.



A.

Crac des Chevaliers fell into Mamluke hands in 1271. Subsequently the Mamlukes altered the Room of 120 Meters by the installation of a partition wall which crossed the north end of the room, joining the exterior north wall of the chapel in the middle of the western bay. If there was a north closing wall to the appendage structure, as seems likely, it must have been demolished at that time. The main chapel was blocked off from this new room by sealing the doors in the center and west bays of the north wall. The chapel was then converted for use as a mosque by introducing two *mīhrābs*, in the center and east bays, respectively, of the *qibla* wall. An additional *mīhrāb* was added in the apse wall at some later time.<sup>7</sup>

All of the extant fresco painting associated with the main chapel and its appendage appears on wall surfaces which belong to the 1170–1202 phase of construction. Deschamps argued that this building work was done shortly after 1170.<sup>8</sup> Thus it follows that the frescoes could have been done during the 1170s or later.

#### THE FRESCO FRAGMENTS ON THE INTERIOR (figs. 2–7)

Paul Deschamps reported no fresco painting on the interior of the main chapel from his work at

<sup>7</sup>This small *mīhrāb* does not appear on any of the plans published by Deschamps and is apparently modern, possibly dating to the time of the village settlement in Crac in the nineteenth or early twentieth century.

<sup>8</sup>Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 85.

Crac in the 1920s and 1930s. The discovery of painting fragments is to be explained by the subsequent falling away of layers of plaster and white-wash caused by the extremely damp conditions.<sup>9</sup> Even now conservation of any painting is made extraordinarily difficult by heavy, live mold growth on wall and vault surfaces and other discolorations made especially by smoke and water seepage. Despite the meager remains of fresco painting in the main chapel, described below, it is nearly miraculous that anything survives at all, given the extreme dampness.

All of the bits of extant painting *in situ* were found on the north wall of the chapel below the cornice where some relatively large areas of plaster still survive (1979). By contrast, virtually no plaster remains on the south or west walls, although the surviving traces suggest they were completely covered as well. Above the cornice there is considerable plaster present on the vaults and the apse semidome and some on the west wall. Below the cornice in the apse the plaster layer extends to a point *ca.* 2 m. above the floor. These other plaster surfaces, however, often severely discolored and with major losses, are in very poor condition, and no painted decoration could be identified on any of them.

The fresco fragments which could be observed on the north wall are described below.

#### 1. *The West Bay* (figs. 4, 5)

Fragmentary areas of painting on plaster exist on the intrados of the inner (stepped) arch and along the adjacent rear surface of the blind arcade where the wall meets the intrados. The most readily visible parts consist of an irregular strip of red and blue painting extending from a point *ca.* 2.5 m. above the floor just at the springing of the arch on the left side almost continuously around the arch to a point on the right side *ca.* 3 m. above the floor.

<sup>9</sup>Up to 1933 Crac was inhabited by the local villagers—it was the village—and the chapel was whitewashed and plastered repeatedly. After 1933, when Crac was officially ceded to the French Government by the State of Latakiah (P. Coupel, "Organisation du Service des Antiquités des Etats du Levant sous Mandat Français," *Museion*, 35–36 [1936], 176), the ravages of dampness proceeded unrestrained when the villagers were moved out and the castle cleared. In 1949 the castle was placed under the care of the Syrian Department of Antiquities, and in 1950 repairs and further clearing were begun under the direction of George Kalamkarian (S. Abdul-Hak, "Chronique des monuments historiques," *AArchSyr*, 4–5 [1954–55], 223). The report of M. Tallon ("Peintures byzantines au Liban. Inventaire," *MéUSJ*, 38 [1962], 294), who mentions "au Krak des Chevaliers . . . des vestiges de peintures d'époque byzantine," presumably refers to the "Baptismal Chapel" fragments, not to the nonfigural fragments in the main chapel.

The painted surface at the lower left juts out *ca.* 1.05 m. from the surface of the intrados in a "peninsular" shape (fig. 5), broad at the base along the intrados and tapering to an irregular rounded point. Just above this area the painted surface disappears, only to return as a thin strip of irregular width (maximum width *ca.* 3.0 cm. at the top right) extending around the top of the arch on the back wall to the point where it terminates on the right side (fig. 4, arrows).

The peninsula-shaped pointed fragment consists of a single plaster layer *ca.* 0.5 cm. thick applied directly to the masonry. It is hard, greyish white plaster which, when sectioned and examined under a microscope, is seen to be made of lime mixed with a high proportion of well graded quartz sand filler and has a lime-rich surface approximately 1 mm. thick. The painted surface was extremely dirty, wet, and covered with mold. Only a deep blue ground color with a narrow red border, *ca.* 2.5 cm. wide, could be positively identified, but this being the largest of the painted fragments, it might yield more information when carefully cleaned.<sup>10</sup>

Portions of the painted plaster are covered by an outer layer of lime plaster, very white in color, approximately 1 cm. thick. There is no evidence of any painting on this plaster overlayer here or wherever it appears in the chapel.

Above the peninsula-shaped fragment the irregular strip on the left side exhibits not one, but two painted plaster layers. The lower layer corresponds to the peninsular painted fragment applied directly to the masonry on the wall below. The second layer is also *ca.* 0.5 cm. thick, but is pale cream in color. It is also a lime plaster, but contains less sand filler and is therefore softer than the plaster it covers. This *second* layer of painted plaster corresponds in appearance and composition to all other samples of painted plaster found on the north wall in the east, center, and west bays. In no place other than the left side of the rear north wall of the western bay were two layers of painted plaster observed. All of the painted surfaces are again a blue ground and/or a red border. The unpainted overlayer, when it appears, is again (in section) very white in color and approximately 1 cm. thick.

#### 2. *The Center Bay* (figs. 6, 8)

Several small fragments of painted plaster are visible on the upper left side of the inner stepped

<sup>10</sup>Upon scrutiny with a magnifying glass, it seemed possible to discern faintly red underdrawing and some linear elements of grey-blue and black.



arch, the front surface of the voussoirs and intrados, the back wall of the blind arcade, and the upper east side of the engaged pier just over 3 m. above floor level. Here the pale cream-color plaster, *ca.* 0.5 cm. thick, is applied directly to the masonry.

Of these fragments the most notable, and the most easily visible, appears on a left voussoir of the inner (stepped) arch *ca.* 3.65 m. above the floor (fig. 8). This voussoir fragment consists, on the intrados, of a blue ground bordered by a red strip *ca.* 2.5 cm. wide. The red strip continues onto the face of the voussoir, where it is articulated with white and black lines parallel to the curve of the arch. Inside these lines on the face of the voussoir one can identify at least one decorative yellow globule.

The fragment on the east side of the engaged pier is again blue and predominantly red with no visible pattern.

### 3. *The East Bay* (fig. 7)

Relatively little painted plaster survives in the east bay. The main fragment includes some red paint on the front face of the voussoirs of the inner (stepped) arch, and contiguous blue paint is identifiable on the intrados of the outer arch applied on the same layer of pale cream plaster *ca.* 0.5 cm. thick. The fragment is an irregular strip *ca.* 40 cm. long extending up the left side of the arch voussoir/intrados from a point *ca.* 4.3 m. above the floor.

### THE FRESCO FRAGMENT ON THE EXTERIOR (figs. A, 9–11)

In 1949 the Syrian Antiquities Service, directed by S. Abdul-Hak, resumed administrative responsibility for Crac des Chevaliers, and in 1950 a program of repairs and maintenance was initiated under the local direction of G. Kalamkarian.<sup>11</sup> In 1954–55 the Arab wall in the north end of the Room of 120 Meters was removed and a significant fresco fragment was discovered on the outer north wall of the chapel hitherto concealed by the Arab masonry.<sup>12</sup> The fresco depicting the Presentation in the Temple was revealed *in situ ca.* 1.05 m. (lower edge) above the current floor level in the center of the exterior wall of the west bay of the chapel.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Abdul-Hak, *op. cit.*, 223.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* The published statement does not indicate exactly when this discovery was made. Deschamps specifies the date to have been October of 1955 in a dossier of photos and letters about Crac des Chevaliers currently on file in the Musée des monuments français in Paris. My thanks to M. Chr. de Merindol, who facilitated the consultation of this material at the Musée.

<sup>13</sup> In the report of Abdul-Hak, *op. cit.*, the fresco is referred to as a fragment containing the infant Jesus, the Virgin, and St. Joseph. This same information is repeated in the *Blue Guide*: R.

The exact location of the fragment on the wall can be identified by the remains of a partial outline of plaster (fig. 11), corresponding exactly to the shape and size of the extant fragment, which was left when the painted plaster was removed for preservation.

The fresco fragment was left on the wall after its discovery until the problems of dampness required that it be removed.<sup>14</sup> In the 1960s it was apparently taken to Damascus to the Conservation Laboratory of the National Museum, where it was prepared for exhibition. In 1965 the fresco was put on public display when the church-museum at Tartus opened. The fresco is preserved today in a steel-framed plaster armature 1.65 m. high × .92 m. wide and is displayed on the north wall of the apse of the church-museum (Notre Dame of Tortosa). The fragment was briefly noted by Paul Deschamps, and a photograph was included in the part of his publication on Crac in 1964.<sup>15</sup>

### 1. *Description of the Fresco Fragment* (figs. 9, 10a-c)

The painting consists of five figures—four with halos above and one without a halo below—an altar, and part of an architectural canopy.<sup>16</sup> The scene is clearly a substantial fragment of the Presentation in the Temple. All of the main participants are present except Joseph who is lost, presumably from the left side, and one small male figure has been added whose identity remains problematic.

The calmly standing female figure at the left is the Virgin Mary. She is identified by her purple *maphorion* extending from her head to her knees, red buskins, and yellow halo. She also wears a slate-blue *chiton*. Mary looks out directly at the observer, but holds her hands to the right, toward the child Jesus she is about to receive. She has no extant inscription.

The figure of the Virgin is heavily damaged with over half the body lost, and what remains has suffered serious surface abrasion and some deep scratches. Mary's head and part of her face, hands, the front part of her *maphorion*, and the lower drapery are the main survivals (fig. 10a). The face and hands are painted in off-white flesh tones and strong grey and black outlines. The modeling of the hands is minimal in contrast to the face, where a suggestion of three-dimensionality is achieved by

Boulanger, *The Middle East*, trans. J. S. Hardman (Paris, 1966), 351.

<sup>14</sup> See the dossier on Crac des Chevaliers in the Musée des monuments français (note 12 *supra*).

<sup>15</sup> Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 137, pl. 40.

<sup>16</sup> Other than the overall dimensions, the halos are the most readily measurable elements: for all large halos, diameter = 33.0 cm., and for the small halo, diameter = 16.0 cm.

the use of a sallow flesh color over the lighter base. Nonetheless, the broad linearity of the facial features (nose, eyebrows, etc.) and the heavy outlines result in an overall two-dimensional effect found also in the drapery. Treated mainly as flat color zones, the *maphorion* and *chiton* are articulated with broadly brushed linear folds and outlines. These elements take on volume only by contrast to the flat background colors or the even yellow in the halo, which itself has a large black and white border.

The best preserved major figure, despite some surface losses, is Simeon, who is shown in an active striding pose to the right handing the child Jesus back to His mother. Simeon is bare-headed with long white hair which rests on his grey mantle and even floats a little out behind him, emphasizing the vigor of his activity (fig. 10b). His hair, white beard, and moustache are all shaded with light grey and have darker grey outlines. His long narrow face is handled like the Virgin's, but the effect of modeling which seems to include a ruddy tan is notably stronger.

Unfortunately, the coherence of the surface has been much disturbed by loss of pigment and the application of a shiny resinous preservative substance. Simeon's left arm and hand have been damaged and possibly repainted.<sup>17</sup> His right hand is almost totally lost in the damage to the left side of the body of Jesus. Both hands were apparently bare, as the one appears today. Of the drapery, the tunic is essentially an off-white color articulated in rust-brown linear folds with grey or brown outlines on the upper body and rust-brown outlines below the waist, most notably the billowing curve at the knee. A light blue color washed across the lower sleeve of the tunic appears to be a discoloration. The mantle is slate grey with dark grey folds indicated by broad linear elements and strong curving outlines. The mantle survives along his back and over the lower body but is mostly gone over his right shoulder and chest. Again the effect of flat pattern predominates with the drapery, and volume is suggested mainly by position and overlap. The black shoes and yellow halo are completely flat. There is no inscription extant.

The painting surface over the head, halo, and body of Jesus is extremely damaged (fig. 10a). One can barely discern evidence of a cross shape painted in the yellow nimbus. Jesus' halo is otherwise dis-

tinguished by having a black inner and outer border with a white intermediate zone. The lower face and neck is in reasonably good shape and exhibits the sallow flesh tone effectively, if simply, shaded with grey on the right side of the head and under the chin. Furthermore, the face is enlivened with red on the lips and soft rosy cheeks. The left arm and two legs and feet exhibit the same sallow hue, slightly darker but less modeled with strong outlines. The right arm and drapery are effectively lost. An inscription does survive for Jesus to the left of his halo. The letters  $\tilde{\text{I}}\tilde{\text{C}} \tilde{\text{X}}\tilde{\text{C}}$ , one pair over the other, appear in thin white paint against the grey background between Jesus and the Virgin.

To the extreme right of the fragment one sees the remains of a staunchly upright, rather youthful looking female figure (fig. 10b), the prophetess Anna, whose hand is raised in a gesture of speech. Much of her body is lost, and the surface of most of her extant drapery is heavily abraded except for a passage around the lower legs. Anna's head is framed by a grey veil with heavy pigment losses and the usual large yellow halo with black and white borders. She looks out at the observer with large brownish grey eyes. Her face is again a sallow flesh tone with grey shading on the right side of the nose, head, and under the chin. This simple but effective modeling gives us a better idea of what the Virgin's face must have looked like originally. Anna's cheeks have dark grey lines, suggesting age. Her lips are faintly rouged, giving only slight evidence of the red that must have warmed them when first painted. The strong outlines encountered on the other figures are again visible in the head, hand, and lower drapery. The drapery over the legs is a slightly lighter grey than the color of Simeon's mantle, but the handling is exactly the same. No inscription survives for Anna.

The most problematic figure in the extant fragment is the small male figure standing in front of the altar between Mary and Simeon (fig. 10c). Beardless, wearing a simple light grey tunic now somewhat discolored, he is turned and gesturing with his hands to the left. His hair is dark grey-brown. His head, hands, and drapery are painted in a simplified outline style seen in the larger figures in a more developed version. His identity is uncertain, but two factors should be noted in addition to his youth. First, he appears in front of and slightly below the platform level on which the other figures stand: note that his black boots cross the red-brown edge of the platform or stair and his foot extends below. Secondly, an enigmatic in-

<sup>17</sup> The hand and forearm are weakly drawn and appear too small proportionately for the figure.

scriptionlike pattern appears just above his head in thin black paint: the putative letters appear to be "SisONIN."<sup>18</sup>

The other elements of the painting include the altar itself and the architectural canopy. The altar appears to be some kind of table covered with a white cloth and decorated with a rectangular form that seems to simulate a golden object covered with pearls. It is unclear, because of the damage to the surface, if the jeweled rectangle is meant to hang down from the side decorating the altar cover or, much more likely, be the jeweled book cover of Holy Scripture resting on the altar. Above the halos of Mary and Simeon appear the very faint remains of the other architectural element. Two pale yellow horizontal strips outlined in black with a reddish brown area between them suggest a canopy or roof over the heads of the main figures.

Because of the severe damage this fragment has suffered and the shiny yellowish resinous preservative which covers its surface, it is difficult to be accurate about some details of form, color, materials, and technique. Preliminary examination of the original plaster layer on which the paint is carried suggests that it is similar to the pale cream layer of lime plaster with sand filler on which most of the painting in the chapel interior appears.

*Discussion of the Fresco Fragments on the Interior and Exterior of the Main Chapel*

The appearance of fresco painting on the interior and exterior of the main chapel at Crac des Chevaliers comes as a surprise. The facts that the exterior and some of the interior painted plaster layers were executed on common wall masonry and that the chapel and its northern appendage were directly connected indicate that the two ensembles should at least be considered in relation to each other.

Given the exceedingly fragmentary nature of the extant paintings on the interior of the chapel, it is difficult to date them or describe their extent very precisely. On the basis of the technical observations made above, which indicate the similar nature of the lime plaster (pale cream color in section, ca. 0.5 cm. thick) and the paint pigments, it seems reasonable to suppose that the frescoes of the interior are roughly contemporary with the Presentation. Fur-

thermore, we can point to the widespread use of the blue ground with red borders as a standard format for frescoes both Crusader and Byzantine in the territory encompassed by the Crusader states. Not far south of Crac between Tripoli and Batroun one finds examples in the grotto of Mar Marina near Qalamoun or in the church of Mar Phocas at Amioun.<sup>19</sup> Closer to Jerusalem one finds examples in the church of the Invention of the Head of St. John in Sebaste, on the stele in the church at Bethphage, in the Deësis Chapel of the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, or in the Hospitaller Church at Abu Ghosh.<sup>20</sup>

The irregular survivals make it difficult to assess the fragments in comparison with these other monuments. One feature we note, however, is the fact that the normal border of red is separated from the blue ground by a white line, although at Crac this is not apparently always the case. Whereas the voussour fragment at Crac seems to have a white line, the other fragments do not clearly display this feature. In twelfth-century Western frescoes the absence of such a white line usually indicates the presence of multiple colored strips in a border.<sup>21</sup> The exact significance here remains to be determined.

The surviving fragments clearly lead us to suppose by their locations that at one time virtually the entire north wall of the chapel below the cornice received fresco decoration. The normal expectation would then be that frescoes were also originally done on the south and probably the west walls below the cornice and in the apse, below and above the cornice. This notion is based on comparisons with independent, that is, noncastle chapels or churches, such as the church at Abu Ghosh or that of Mar Phocas at Amioun, which would also sug-

<sup>19</sup>For Mar Marina, see Ch.-L. Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," *Syria*, 7 (1926), 30–45; for Amioun, see Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, pls. 95–97.

<sup>20</sup>For the church at Sebaste, see J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste*, British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, Supplementary Paper, 4 (London, 1937), 24–39, frontispiece, and pls. 16b, 16c; and R. W. Hamilton, *Guide to Samaria-Sebaste* (Jerusalem, 1944), 56–59, and figs. 23, 25. For the stele at Bethphage, see Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "La Pierre de Bethphage," *RA*, n.s. 34 (1877), 377–88; and B. Bagatti, "Le pitture medievali della pietra di Betfage," *Liber annuus*, 1 (1950–51), 228–46. For the Deësis Chapel at the church of the Nativity, see *idem*, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 9 (Jerusalem, 1952), 70 fig. 20, 74–79, and pl. 59; and Boase, in *Crusades*, IV (note 4 *supra*), 123 note 9, 256–57, and pl. 36. For Abu Ghosh, see *ibid.*, 123 note 9, 259–61, and pls. 34–35.

<sup>21</sup>O. Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting* (London, 1970), e.g., figs. 38, 142 (upper), 280, and *passim*.

<sup>18</sup>The meaning of these letters is as yet undecipherable. They seem to have been painted in a different hand from the Greek inscription, however, and appear quite sketchy and uncertain in form.

gest that frescoes on the vaults would not be expected.<sup>22</sup> It is certain, however, that we shall not be able to assess fully the possible extent of the Crac chapel frescoes until every piece of overplaster is painstakingly removed and every surviving painted layer is exposed and studied.

It would seem reasonable to suppose, given the evidence uncovered so far, that, despite the silence of the written sources, the interior of the Crac chapel was decorated with frescoes sometime after 1170 and before 1271.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, it is likely that these were figural frescoes, judging from the nature and location of what survives, the Presentation fragment, and the existence of other paintings at both Crac and Marqab Castle.<sup>24</sup> Of the painted surfaces identified so far, only the "peninsula" fragment may offer the possibility of further evidence in regard to figural work. The careful cleaning of this fragment might yield such evidence because it alone of the extant examples of painting extends into the central wall surface instead of being confined to the peripheral areas of arch voussoirs, intrados, spandrels, or engaged piers.

The fragment of the Presentation in the Temple raises many additional problems, but in contrast to the bits of painting on the interior of the chapel enough survives to enable us to say something more specific about the nature and date of the work. Its odd location is one of the most important additional problems.

Excavations carried out by Paul Deschamps at Crac during clearance of the castle in the 1930s

<sup>22</sup> For the church at Abu Ghosh, see note 20 *supra*. For the Church of Mar Phocas at Amioun, see note 19 *supra*.

One should note that there are frescoes on the vaults of the crypt chapel of the church at Abu Ghosh but not on the vaults of the main nave. The case of the vault frescoes in the northeast room of the Marqab Castle chapel will be dealt with below.

<sup>23</sup> These outside dates are determined by archeological and historical considerations. We shall discuss the dating below in relation to the Presentation scene from Crac.

<sup>24</sup> These other frescoes at Crac and Marqab will be discussed below. It should also be pointed out that all surviving Crusader chapels in which substantial frescoes have been found have figural decoration. None is decorated only with nonfigural designs. There are, of course, a few Crusader chapels from which only minimal colored fragments survive and where again we cannot be sure if figural decoration was included, e.g., the small church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Tyre (P. Bikai, "A New Crusader Church in Tyre," *BMBeyr*, 24 [1971], 83–90), the castle chapel at Belvoir (unpublished, reported verbally), or the chapel at Montfort (B. Dean, "The Exploration of a Crusaders' Fortress [Montfort] in Palestine," *BMMA*, 22,2 [1927], 5 ff.). But it is at least possible that all of these chapels had figural decoration as well. The size and importance of the Crac chapel in contrast to these smaller buildings would also seem to argue in favor of more elaborate figural decoration there, whatever kind of fresco decoration these smaller chapels may have originally contained.

located a concentrated burial site at the exterior west entrance to the main chapel.<sup>25</sup> When the main entrance was shifted from the west door to the south side of the west bay and the chapel appendage was added along the north wall, it is possible that both these developments were connected with burial practices in and around the chapel. Unfortunately, no excavations have been undertaken in either the southwest porch or the chapel appendage to ascertain if this is indeed the case. In view of the lack of a crypt for the chapel and no sign of burials elsewhere inside the castle, this question must remain open until the issue can be resolved.

The exterior north wall of the chapel itself remains physically something of an enigma. In contrast to the smooth masonry on the interior which could easily receive painted plaster, the exterior wall is rough, retaining chisel marks and gouges and even some bossed masonry which constitutes a more irregular surface for decoration.<sup>26</sup> Although the extant fragment was originally located *ca.* 1.05 m. above the current floor level, it retains no evidence of painted borders which would indicate whether it was part of a larger ensemble or the focal part of the decoration on this wall. The irregularity of the wall masonry suggests that possibly the frescoes were confined to certain sections of the wall. Indeed the possibility must be considered that the chapel appendage was an enclosure for burials where *ex voto* panels were painted on the walls for specific individual commissions. The fact that this one image survives is due primarily to its preservation behind one end of a Mamluke partition wall. Any other traces of plaster or painting seem to be completely obliterated on the chapel wall.

The iconography of the Presentation in the Temple is *not* customarily associated with burials.<sup>27</sup> In Middle Byzantine monumental art this scene belongs to the great festival cycle and as such figures among the most important liturgical images to appear in the main nave of a church.<sup>28</sup> No ex-

<sup>25</sup> Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 94. This archeological work was apparently done after 1935. In any case, it is not reported in Deschamps' large publication, *Les Châteaux*, I, *Le Crac*.

<sup>26</sup> The irregular wall surface of the exterior clearly suggests that the chapel appendage was an afterthought. The rough surface of the wall, however, was obviously not an impediment to decoration and actually must have aided the adhesion of the plaster layer.

<sup>27</sup> Byzantine burial chambers, of course, often have scenes of the Crucifixion or the Anastasis, as, e.g., at St. Neophytos on Cyprus (cf. C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 20 [1966], 183–85), but not the Presentation.

<sup>28</sup> O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948; repr. New Rochelle, 1976), 22–24.

ample of the Presentation in the Temple is known among extant Crusader frescoes or mosaics elsewhere.<sup>29</sup> Its singular presence here suggests unusual circumstances, although in its original situation it may not have been so conspicuous.

The addition of the youthful male figure to the standard elements of the Presentation must be considered an important clue to the original purpose of the fresco. Unfortunately, neither the cryptic inscription nor the specific iconographic details of the diminutive figure have revealed who he might be. Although it is possible, even probable, that the little man may be the donor, or related to the donor, there is nothing on which we can base a firm identification at present.<sup>30</sup> Even if we provisionally entertain the likelihood of his being a donor figure, we can only, regretfully, point out that neither his garments nor his central location below Jesus in the composition clearly indicates whether he is a member of a military order.<sup>31</sup> Whereas the context of this fresco and the choice of scene would suggest that he may well have been a Hospitaller or Templar knight, further evidence is needed to sustain such a proposal.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Note, however, that the place of the Presentation in the Temple is said to have been marked by an inscription in the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock), as reported by Theoderich (1172). See Theodericus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed. M. L. and W. Bulst, Editiones Heidelbergenses, 18 (Heidelberg, 1976), chap. 15, 24. See also the comments on the *Templum Domini* during the Crusader period by H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1926), 972–73. It is unclear whether an image of the Presentation was also set up there by the Crusaders, but it is not unlikely.

<sup>30</sup>Donor figures are normally quite small in scale compared to the main figures of a standard scene, but the donor is usually placed in a less conspicuous part of the overall composition. See, e.g., K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 80. See also the discussion on donor figures found in frescoes on Cyprus, in A. and J. Stylianou, "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *JÖBG*, 9 (1960), 97–128. Dr. Erica Dodd will include a discussion of some donor figures in her survey of medieval frescoes now in Lebanon.

<sup>31</sup>The identification of Hospitallers or Templars in Crusader painting has depended on at least the appearance of a cross on their garments and/or standards. See, e.g., Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, 69–74; and J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre: 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), 63. The iconography of Templars and Hospitallers in Western art after 1201 was much more explicit. See, e.g., the miniature depicting Templars in the early fourteenth-century part of a manuscript of the *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre with continuations, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS 142, fol. 243<sup>v</sup>; or a Hospitaller in a fresco: A. Luttrell, "A Hospitaller in a Florentine Fresco: 1366/8," *The Burlington Magazine*, 114 (1972), 362–66.

<sup>32</sup>Whether this scene was done to accompany a burial or not, the choice of the Presentation would *prima facie* suggest at least the possibility of a Templar patron in the context of work patronized by the knightly orders. Although the Hospitallers con-

The iconography and style of the Presentation fragment is indeed notable on other counts. Although, as mentioned above, no monumental examples survive in Crusader art with which to compare it, there are two examples of interest in manuscript illumination, specifically in the Psalter of Queen Melisende and the Riccardiana Psalter.<sup>33</sup> In both manuscript versions the strong impact of Byzantine models has been noted, and the same is true in the fresco. In general, excluding the small male standing figure, the other four figures correspond closely to those in the miniatures, with the exception of a few details. Indeed, on the basis of the general comparison we may assume it likely that when the fresco was complete St. Joseph appeared at the left side of our composition, placing Jesus more precisely on the central axis of the scene.<sup>34</sup>

In iconographic type our fresco corresponds to the fifth phase of the Presentation ceremony, as analyzed by Schorr, where old Simeon is handing Jesus back to the Virgin.<sup>35</sup> This corresponds to the text of Luke 2:28 ff. The fact that Simeon holds the child with bare hands and is the most active figure indicates that he is returning the child. The iconographic detail of the bare hands is one which started to become popular in the mid-twelfth century and reached its peak in Byzantine art around 1200.<sup>36</sup> Its use here in a scene which is strongly Byzantine influenced in composition, attributes, and costumes of the figures and poses, along with the

trolled this castle from 1142 to 1271, it is not inconceivable that a notable Templar could have been sheltered at Crac, fallen ill or been wounded nearby in battle, and died, ultimately even being buried here. Until more light can be shed on the reasons for the Presentation iconography here, however, its obvious association with Jerusalem and the church of the *Templum Domini* in the immediate proximity of the headquarters of the Knights Templar can only raise the possibility of a Templar patron.

<sup>33</sup>H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), pls. 3a, 52c. There are also at least two heretofore unpublished Crusader icons with this scene in Weitzmann's St. Catherine's corpus. These scenes appear on iconostasis beams from which other images have been reproduced: cf. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 5, 22, 23.

<sup>34</sup>It should be noted, however, that the five major figures do not always appear in Byzantine (or Western) art in this period. See, e.g., the image of the Presentation in the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament (University of Chicago, MS 2400): H. R. Willoughby et al., *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (Chicago, 1932), I, fol. 59<sup>v</sup>; III, 155–57.

<sup>35</sup>D. C. Schorr, "The Iconography of the Presentation in the Temple," *ArtB*, 28 (1946), 25. See also, on the Presentation, K. Wessel, "Darstellung Christi im Tempel," *RBK*, I, cols. 1137–45; and the recent work by H. Maguire, "The Iconography of Simeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art," *Abstracts of Papers, 6th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference* (Oberlin, 1980), 30–31.

<sup>36</sup>S. Boyd, "The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus, and Its Wallpaintings," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 294–95. See also L. Hadermann-Misguich, "La Peinture monumentale Tardo-

Greek inscription, suggests that the artist was well acquainted with the Byzantine artistic tradition, a fact also borne out in the technique of the painting.

The relationship of this fresco to Byzantine parallels is, however, analogous to the relationship of the Crusader miniatures to their Greek models. There are a number of exceptions to normal contemporary Byzantine examples which clearly indicate the presence of a non-Byzantine artist. The text of Luke 2:36 clearly states that Anna was a very old woman, and Byzantine depictions usually faithfully record her agedness.<sup>37</sup> Western artists are not nearly so consistent, and the striking youthfulness of the pleasant round face of Anna in our fragment is not effectively aged by the application of a few lines to the cheeks.

Another Western feature here is the way the figures tend to look out, confronting the onlooker, unlike the glancing eyes of contemporary Byzantine work. It is striking the way these major holy figures, like those in Crusader icons, alter their gaze from one of aloof spirituality in order to make human contact with the observer.<sup>38</sup> Finally, we must note the architectural setting which, quite in contrast to either Crusader miniatures or Byzantine parallels, is not focused on a baldachino, but instead gives only the indication of a roof/canopy spanning the group perhaps somewhat behind where they stand and seemingly more over the covered altar table. Even given the damage to the painting in the roof area, it is clear that this freer interpretation of the setting with no columns in sight is more in keeping with Western tastes.<sup>39</sup>

The dating of the Presentation in the Temple fragment from Crac is a very difficult problem, but it is by no means impossible to come to some preliminary conclusions.<sup>40</sup> Archeologically, the date of

the chapel wall precludes anything before 1170, as we have seen. Iconographic indications point to a date in the last part of the twelfth century or later. What can we say about the artist and the style he works in?

I have suggested that this fragment was painted by a non-Byzantine artist. Because he worked in a mode which combines Byzantine and Western traditions, and because the level of quality is reasonably good for provincial work, perhaps he was a painter who had come to Crac from some other Crusader center. Possibly he, like the artists in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, worked in the Byzantine tradition in Jerusalem and then carried it north after Jerusalem fell in 1187.<sup>41</sup> Only Jerusalem and the Jerusalem region, including Bethlehem, Abu Ghosh, and Sebaste, offer significant Crusader fresco painting prior to Šalāḥ ad-Dīn's conquest in 1187.

One of the fundamental stylistic problems here is the isolated nature of this example and the provincial character of the frescoes on which we are reporting. In the absence of any published corpus of Crusader frescoes and identification of clear developments in the extant paintings, we must turn cautiously for parallels to Byzantine developments.<sup>42</sup> In so doing, we must recognize the probability of time lags between what was happening in Cyprus, Greece, etc., and Crac; thus dating on the basis of style will be very approximate.

The form and growth of Byzantine painting in the period 1150–1250 has increasingly come under scrutiny in recent years. It is fair to say that we understand developments in mural painting up to ca. 1200 more clearly as a result of this work, but what happened after the Fourth Crusade disrupted artistic development is still problematic. Without attempting to make specific parallels between our fragment and contemporary Byzantine work, perhaps we can nonetheless draw attention to certain general comparisons.

The upright, compact composition of our fragment is in harmony with the emphatic linear handling of the figures. Though the figures are large and substantial, the linearism confines them to a

Comnène et ses prolongements au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, III, *Art et Archéologie* (Athens, 1976), 97–127.

<sup>37</sup> See, e.g., the Byzantine twelfth-century iconostasis beam images published by K. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West Around the Year 1200," *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York, 1975), 80, figs. 13, 14.

<sup>38</sup> See, e.g., other Crusader icons published by *idem*, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Graeca," *Acts of the 24th International Congress of the History of Art* (Bologna, 1979), in press.

<sup>39</sup> Consider the diverse Western examples illustrated by Schorr, *op. cit.*, figs. 14, 16, 17, 19; and earlier examples in G. Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 2nd ed., I (Gutersloh, 1969), figs. 232, 233, 236, 239.

<sup>40</sup> Paul Deschamps never published his opinion on the dating of this fragment. In a handwritten note now on file in a dossier of his letters concerning the Presentation fragment he calls it simply, "Byzantine, XIII C.;" see the Deschamps Crac des Chevaliers dossier (note 12 *supra*).

<sup>41</sup> I have addressed the issue of the significance of the date, 1187, for the history of Crusader art and the probable continuity of Crusader painting after the disaster at Hattin in my paper, "Crusader Painting in the 13th Century: The State of the Question," *Acts of the 24th International Congress of the History of Art* (Bologna, 1979), in press.

<sup>42</sup> As referred to above, a serious study of Crusader frescoes is a great desideratum, both in the north (county of Tripoli, principality of Antioch) and in the region around Jerusalem.

rather two-dimensional, planar representation. Similar developments have been noted among Byzantine works in the period between 1175 and 1204.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps more relevant, however, is the intensification of activity and emotional content in our fragment. The lively pose of Simeon with his flowing hair, the strong and emphatic speaking gesture of Anna, the gesture of the Virgin's hands, and the eye contact with the spectator are all aspects of this development. Here again this is seen in late Comnenian painting, as Weitzmann has shown with regard to icons.<sup>44</sup>

What we should tentatively conclude about the Crac fragments at this point with these considerations in mind is the following. For the Presentation in the Temple scene a date *ca.* 1200 is likely. The artist was possibly a Crusader refugee from the Jerusalem region, but if he worked at Crac *ca.* 1200 he may have been called directly from Acre, which was retaken in 1191 during the Third Crusade; in other words, his artistic background may be from the Jerusalem area, but Acre, where other artists from Jerusalem also apparently set up shop, may have been his immediate base after 1191.<sup>45</sup> Like other Crusader artists from Jerusalem in the twelfth century he was well versed in Byzantine artistic ideas which are combined with a Western background that is hard to identify. It is this combination, along with the regional influence, which constitutes what may be called the Levantine Crusader Style. Finally, we can hope that further comparisons with the remaining frescoes found at Crac and those newly discovered at Marqab will help fill in the sketchy picture.

Regarding the fragments on the interior of the chapel, they should probably be dated to the same general time, *ca.* 1200, although it is likely they were executed slightly earlier than the Presentation: how much earlier is impossible to say. Greater specification on the significance of the two painted layers on the interior north wall shall have to await further investigation.

#### THE "BAPTISMAL CHAPEL" OUTSIDE THE CASTLE ENTRANCE (figs. B, C)

In the spring of 1935 Pierre Coupel, architect, and P. Quetard, *chef de chantier*, discovered at Crac des Chevaliers a second chapel. This structure,

found in ruins, was located *ca.* 40 m. outside the main entrance to the castle to the northeast, just to the right of and beyond the tree seen in fig. 1. Built into the slope that drops away along the east side of the castle, this chapel survived with only the west wall and parts of the north and south walls intact. Within the chapel enclosure a baptismal font was identified near the southern wall from which the name "baptismal chapel" derives. Also found in the enclosure were a cistern opening, a door socket, and partial remains of a low internal partition wall. Most importantly, extensive remains of fresco fragments were found on the west, north, and south walls.

Paul Deschamps announced this discovery on 23 August 1935.<sup>46</sup> He subsequently suggested that the chapel was provided for the use of the peasants who farmed the fields surrounding the castle for food to support the Hospitaller garrison inside.<sup>47</sup> In September 1935 Coupel prepared drawings of this new find, including a detailed grid elevation of the location of the fresco fragments. These drawings and photos taken by Coupel constitute the sole known archeological record we have available regarding the discovery of these paintings.

The fresco fragments discovered in 1935 were removed from the walls of the chapel apparently shortly after their discovery. All significant painted fragments were mounted in a bed of plaster of paris on temporary armatures made of chicken wire and wood frames. The fragments eventually were stored inside Crac des Chevaliers, presumably in the vaulted chamber off the esplanade where they are found today. Meanwhile, the site of the baptismal chapel has been obliterated and built over. Unfortunately, no archeological description or detailed report of the discovery and examination of the baptismal chapel is known. Regrettably, unless further information is forthcoming, we can say nothing about the nature and date of the building in which the frescoes were found.

#### THE FRESCO FRAGMENTS ON THE INTERIOR

Fresco fragments were found *in situ* in various concentrations along the remains of the south and north walls and across the length of the west wall. Although the west wall was by far the largest to survive, *ca.* 11.90 m. wide × *ca.* 3.0 m. high, significant figural fresco fragments were extant only

<sup>43</sup> V. J. Djurić, "La Peinture murale byzantine: XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, III, 20–28.

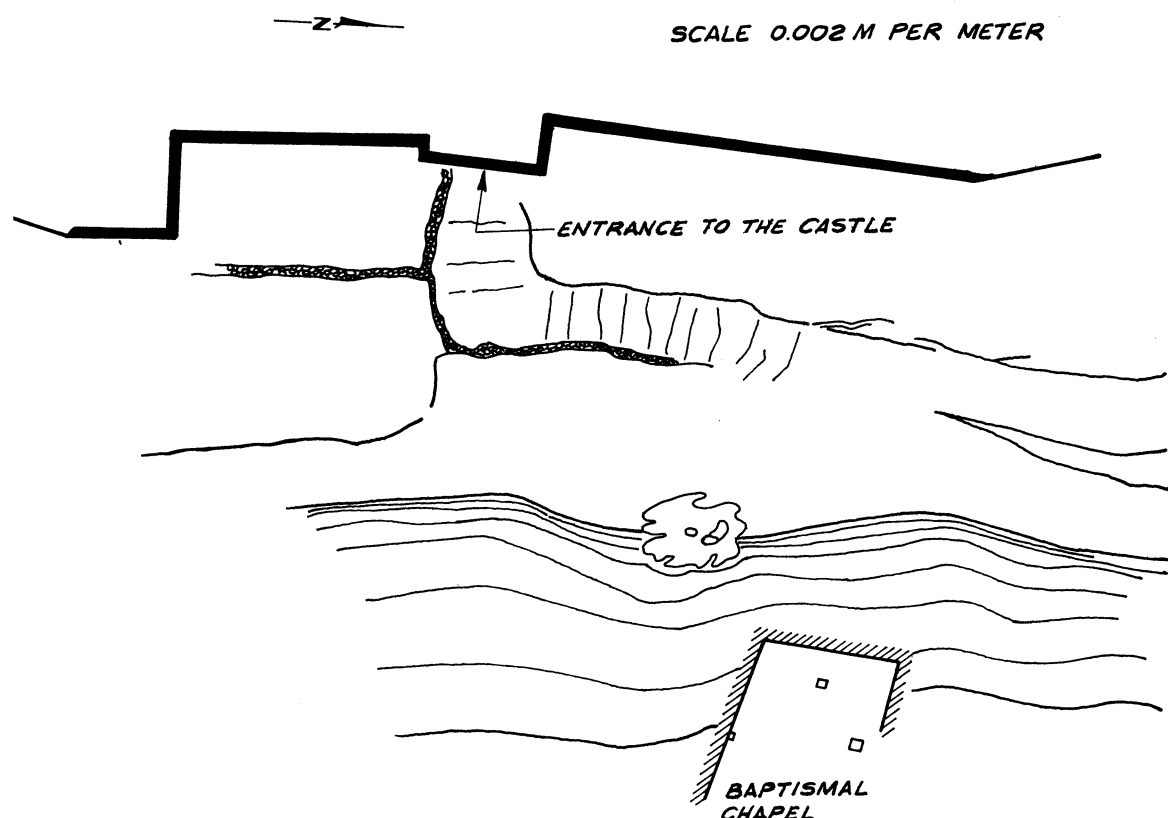
<sup>44</sup> Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West," 57–59.

<sup>45</sup> Buchthal, *op. cit.* (note 33 *supra*), 33 ff.

<sup>46</sup> P. Deschamps, "Séance du 23 Août," *CRAI*, 1935, pp. 365–66.

<sup>47</sup> *Idem*, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 137; also in a personal letter to me dated 7 November 1969.

**CHAPEL LOCATION OUTSIDE CRAC DES CHEVALIERS  
(AFTER M. PIERRE COUPEL)**



B.

in the corner at the extreme southern end and in a much larger area along the north end. Important fragments were also found on the south and north walls in the lower western corner.

Coupe!l's grid elevation and photos of the fragments *in situ* enable us to identify the original location of the six major fragments which we examined in storage at Crac in 1979. These fragments are designated according to their grid coordinates. Following the system of the grid established *in situ* we have indicated the horizontal by number and the vertical by letter: thus, e.g., fragment S:1,d is at coordinates "1" horizontal and "d" vertical on the south wall.

**1. The Fresco Fragments in situ (fig. E)**

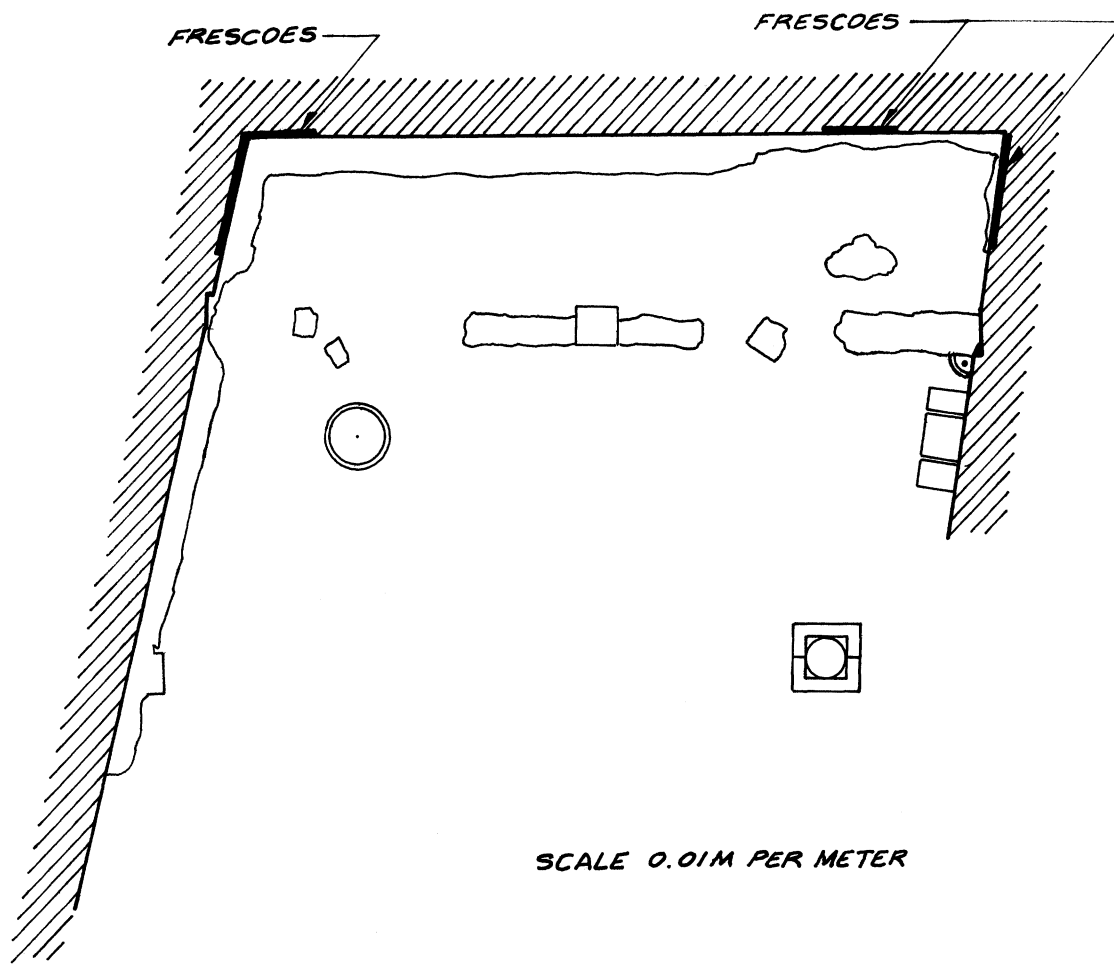
Analysis of the grid elevation in conjunction with the photos of the frescoes *in situ* in 1935 enables us to make a few observations about the ensemble overall. When found, these fragments were already in a heavily damaged condition. Apparently the walls on which the frescoes were located survived because they were built into the side of the slope. Although this direct contact with the sur-

rounding ground protected the walls, it meant that the plaster layer on which the paintings were executed was subject to extreme dampness. Extensive losses resulted, but it should be noted that significantly more painting survives from this site than from the main chapel inside the castle.

It is clear from the documentation that the surviving frescoes were arranged in panels framed with red borders on all three walls. The width and height apparently varied according to the subject. The narrowest verifiable single panel (*ca.* 0.74 m.) occurred at S:8-10,b and the widest (*ca.* 2.42 m.) at N:2-11,b-c. The height of the lower border, the one closer to the floor, apparently varied depending on the depth of the plaster layer which varied in a range of just over 0.6 m. (N:2,b-c, the low, and W:14,d, the high). Surprisingly, based on the grid, the lower border does not correspond on the three walls except for the southwest corner (S:8-10,b-c and W:1-3,b-c).<sup>48</sup> Thus the border of the panel at

<sup>48</sup>These observations are based solely on Coupe!l's drawing and the assumption that the original grid set up for the docu-





## BAPTISMAL CHAPEL PLAN

C.

N:2,b appears to be about 0.2 m. lower than the corresponding borders at S:10,b-c or W:2,b-c. Whatever the reason for this slight shift in levels on the two side walls, it is the west wall which exhibits the most interesting and problematic shifts. Coupel interpreted the lower borders on this wall as belonging to *three different* painted plaster layers which appear to be “stepped down” from the first layer to the third. Thus the highest border fragment from the floor at W:14,d (which he calls the first layer) “steps down” 0.2 m. to the left to the fragment at W:8,c (which he calls the second layer), and from this level finally the border “steps down” again 0.1 m. at W:7–8,b (which he calls the third layer) which corresponds to W:2,b-c in the corner.

On the right side of this wall, the lower border also “steps down” *ca.* 0.1 m. between W:39,c and

mentation was level and plumb. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the floor level in the original building.

W:41,c, but Coupel does not indicate different layers at those points on his grid. Indeed, here the “step down” seems to occur within the zone he records as a second plaster layer.

The different border levels from the floor also have different ornament associated with them. The vertical and horizontal border segments at W:21–22,d (which corresponds in level to Coupel’s first plaster layer) have an angular pattern moving horizontally across the wall. The triangular and floral patterns of the northern wall vertical borders are associated with a lower border level that roughly corresponds (but is slightly lower in level) to Coupel’s third layer on the west wall. One might also note that the ornamental patterns on the north wall between vertical borders further differentiate these paintings from the west wall, where the tiny bit of vertical ornament indicated at W:9,i is distinct with its yellow checkerboard design.

Unfortunately, only two upper border fragments survive, and it is not clear to which plaster layer they belong. If the upper border fragment at W:15–16,j belongs to the same layer as the lower border fragment at W:14,d, the height of this panel would be roughly 1.64 m. (This means, in other words, that this panel would be approximately the same height as the Presentation in the Temple fragment from inside the castle.)

## 2. *The Large Surviving Fragments* (figs. 12–22)

The largest surviving fresco fragments were detached (presumably in 1935) from the walls of the chapel in which they were found. Sometimes divided into separate pieces, they were mounted on armatures and stored inside the castle for safe-keeping.

The six accessible large figural fragments were examined in May 1979 and are described below. These fragments on their armatures have stood in one place at Crac for most of the forty-five years following their detachment, with the exception of a possible round trip to the museum(s) in Tartus and/or Damascus. Their condition today may be described as *extremely fragile*. Our attempts to examine the paintings were limited by the following factors: the fresco surfaces are extremely dirty and in danger of flaking and crumbling; the original plaster layer seems extraordinarily powdered; and some armatures are no longer capable of being moved. Under these circumstances we decided not to endanger the fragments with unnecessary movement and not to attempt to take any physical samples for analysis until proper conservation measures could be carried out to save what remains.

### a. *The South Wall Fragment, S:5–10,b-f* (figs. 12–14)

This fragment (armature maximum dimensions: 1.50 m. wide  $\times$  1.20 m. high) consists of portions of two separate scenes: at the left, S:5–8,b-f, a man with a cap standing in front of a wall (fig. 13), and at the right, S:8–10,b-f, the lower part of a standing female(?) figure with a small donor-like female in the long headdress kneeling to the right (fig. 14). The figures are separated by a red border.<sup>49</sup>

The left fragment depicts a young, beardless male figure with long black hair wearing a light grey

pointed cap, a pale pinkish long-sleeved tunic that comes down to a point just below his knees, and black stockings (and presumably black shoes, but these are now broken away). The flesh tone seems to be a grey-tan, unmodeled. All outlines and drapery folds are dark grey to black. The figure stands against a background wall of yellow-tan which is articulated in lines of chocolate brown. The standing man holds the right leg and foot of a figure, now lost, who presumably once sat on the wall. The left leg and foot of this same figure dangle to the left. The current condition of this figure is too damaged to say anything about the color except that the skin tones appear similar to those of the standing man.

The right fragment depicts a large standing female figure in a yellowish gown articulated with orange-brown folds. The bottom portion of this fragment is lost today; so the decorated hem, the shoes, and the kneeling female figure with the long veil are entirely gone. The background to the left of the gown is a burgundy color, and the simulated stone painted below is grey and tan with veins of black and orange-brown.

Despite the damaged condition two points are clear about these paintings. The technique is simple, using flat color zones and strong outlines. There is very little buildup of pigments or layering of colors with little modeling of the surfaces to give a three-dimensional effect as a result. For the colors, light hued earth-color pigments predominate.

### b. *The West Wall, Southern Corner Fragment, W:1–3,b-d* (figs. 12, 15)

This fragment (maximum armature dimensions: 0.76 m. high  $\times$  0.57 m. wide) depicts a seated, draped male figure facing left.<sup>50</sup> The figure wears a medium brown cloak or mantle over the stomach and shoulder with cream-yellow lining from the neck to the hand and the same color on the front knee and hip. The tunic at the chest visible in the photo is now lost. The flesh tone of the fully round form of the hand appears to be a pinkish tan with thick black outlines. The outlines of the drapery are deep maroon. It is no longer possible to see the simulated stone on which this figure sits in the photograph. In the photo it appears the figure is holding his right arm across his chest (and his hand to his head), but this also is no longer visible.

Again, here the technique is simple and the color

<sup>49</sup> Of the surviving fragments, this one is perhaps currently in the worst condition compared to when it was discovered and removed from the wall. Subsequently, there have been major losses from the armature in the body of the man standing in front of a wall and the donorlike kneeling female figure.

<sup>50</sup> Although the surface of this fragment is extremely dirty, it apparently preserved some painting in good condition. It remains to be seen after cleaning whether there has been heavy overpainting.

is applied in a single flat zone. Even the shading or modeling visible on the front leg and hip is carried out this way. The outlines are very strong and clear. Light hued earth-color pigments are again dominant.

c. *The West Wall, Central Fragment, W:23–25,f-h* (figs. 16, 17)

This fragment (maximum armature dimensions: 0.80 m. high  $\times$  0.56 m. wide) depicts a standing, young, beardless male figure facing left in a boldly striped robe. The painted surface is so dirty that no description of the color of the robe is possible other than to suggest that the stripes appear to be burgundy alternating with a light hue. The lower part of the face of a second figure behind and to the right appears to be a female wearing a light colored garment. It is unclear what the front figure is holding (a basket of fruit?), and nothing can be seen on the left side of the fragment. One is struck here by the change in color to a darker, richer, dominant hue.

d. *The West Wall, North End Fragments, W:33–43,b-j* (figs. 18–21)

This large fragment is mounted on at least five different armatures of which only two could be found without risking severe damage by moving several in very questionable condition. Of the two largest parts the left fragment, W:37–39,g-j, depicts the child Jesus held by the enthroned Virgin, with an angel looking on from the upper right. The right fragment, W:40–42,b-j, includes the standing figure of St. Pantaleon.

The left fragment (figs. 18, 19) is on a severely weakened armature of irregular shape which has a maximum vertical dimension of 0.94 m. and a maximum horizontal dimension of 0.82 m. (The additional part of the painting depicting the left upper corner of Mary's throne, seen at the lower left in figure 23, was not found.)<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, the painting surface of this large fragment is unusually dirty and its condition overall is very poor. It is very difficult to see anything in the way of color.

The best preserved area consists of the face, neck, left part of the halo, and fragment of the garment

of the figure at the upper right. The hair is dark brown; the skin color is too dirty to be seen. The halo is yellow with the end of a fillet visible, designating this figure as an angel. The garment is light colored with grey-blue shading in the folds.

Very little can be seen today of the head and body of Christ, His jeweled halo, or the part of the jeweled throne that extends to His right. One can only see his dark, black(?) hair and fair skin and bits of the yellow in his halo with the white globules (pearls) that form the cross nimbus. Likewise, nothing can be seen of the jeweled throne except parts of six pinkish sections just to the right and below the halo of Jesus and one rectangular part of the edge of the throne which has a burgundy red rectangle (ruby) with four white globules (pearls) at each corner set on a yellow (gold) ground. Of Mary, only part of her yellow halo and deep blue *maphorion* is still visible. One can no longer see any trace of her hand, clearly visible in the photo (fig. 19), which gestures toward Jesus and indicates that this scene was a Virgin *hodeghetria* type, with Mary lavishly enthroned accompanied by angels and saints. The pattern of the throne on which she sits is best revealed in the left-hand fragment visible in fig. 19. Once again the dark, muted quality of the hues is striking in contrast to the first two fragments.

The right fragment (fig. 18) has been mounted on at least two (and probably three) armatures. The upper section, W:40–42,f-j, survives in very damaged and dirty condition on an armature 1.48 m. high  $\times$  0.97 m. wide. The lower section has been mounted on separate armatures.

The upper section of the right fragment (figs. 20a-b) depicts a standing figure of St. Pantaleon with halo, attributes, and an inscription. The halo is painted in yellow outlined with a very dark border (the halo diameter is 0.37 m.). The long, youthful head is beardless. He has what appears to be brown hair, large eyes, heavy brows, and a long nose. The features of the face are nicely drawn, and the flesh has what appears to be greenish shading over the more yellowish base color.

The saint wears a long-sleeved garment, fitted at the wrists, on his upper body. The garment seems to be dark blue-grey with a pattern of white circular decorations over it. It has a red collar with bolder white circular ornament. The lower garment is visible below the waist painted in light grey outlined in black. The draperies of the lower body are organized in "strips" of drapery which flow around the painted ovals at the knees.

St. Pantaleon carried three attributes: in his right

<sup>51</sup> It is to be hoped that careful examination of all the fragments on armatures will reveal the small "lost" pieces. This examination cannot take place, however, until arrangements are made to secure the painted surface of the fragments on which there is severe flaking, to rebuild collapsed armatures, and to clean the paintings. The condition of these fragments was deemed too fragile to survive our handling, and we must await the careful work of the Conservation Laboratory of the National Museum in Damascus which will insure that there will be no further losses.

hand he holds a long, thin scalpel; in his left he holds both a yellow medicine box and a folded piece of cloth. The hand holding the scalpel is painted in flat tan with dark, heavy outlines and is characterized by long, thin fingers in contrast to the full, rounded forms of the hand of the seated draped figure of the southern corner fragment (fig. 15, p. 00 *supra*).

The figure stands against a deep red background; to either side of his halo is an inscription written in Latin characters with white paint. The inscription reads: S[T] PA[N]TALÉON.

The lower right fragment, W:39–43,b-e, unfortunately could not be identified and examined without risking damage to other frescoes,<sup>52</sup> though a photo exists of the lower right part of the right fragment, W:41–43,b-e, on an irregular armature (fig. 21). No detailed photo has yet been found of the lower left fragment, W:39–40,b-e.<sup>53</sup>


The lower right part of the right fragment consists of slightly more than half a section identified by Coupel as coming from a second layer of painted plaster, i.e., covering the lower legs of St. Pantaleon. The recognizable elements of this fragment include parts of three draped male(?) figures standing in profile with their arms and hands in some kind of gesture and one figure seated(?) frontally. To the right possibly appears to be some kind of fountain which the three standing figures seem to face. It is not clear what the figures stand on or why they appear on separate levels, nor is it clear whether there is a fourth draped figure to the left (visible only in fig. 18 at W:41,d).

Two observations can be made here even on the basis of these inadequate photos. The painting of the drapery of these diminutive figures clearly is different from the drapery of St. Pantaleon. The flatter linear design of the drapery on this fragment is more like that of the left-hand figure on the south wall (fig. 13, p. 00 *supra*) than the more volumetric and shaded draperies of St. Pantaleon.

e. *The North Wall Fragment, N:2–11,a-f* (fig. 22)

This fragment today consists of two parts mounted on separate armatures. The left part, N:2–7,a-f, is mounted on an armature 1.45 m. wide × 0.94 m. high. The right part, N:8–11,a-e, is mounted on an armature 0.92 m. wide × 0.96 m. high. Taken together, the two parts depict the lower

portion of what appears to be a horse cantering past a lake in which there are smiling fish. The left fragment includes the hind legs of the horse, three fish, and parts of the horizontal and vertical border. The right section has part of one of the forelegs of the horse and fragments of the lower and right-hand border. Both sections are unfortunately extremely dirty with the painted surface in very damaged condition.

The left fragment features the two hind legs of a horse with the anatomical parts painted in bold forms of geometric simplicity and clarity. The tapering haunches, painted in a flat grey-tan and outlined in heavy black, are defined by smoothly curving lines leading to legs like poles and separated from the legs by the sharp angles of the hocks.<sup>54</sup> The fetlocks of the horse are marked by locks of hair that angle backward in the breeze. Other hair leads down to the hooves whose distinctive outlines terminate in a sharp angle on the front with a graceful curve toward the rear (  ). Part of the horse's underside is visible, and there appears to be a dark grey object hanging down beneath what looks like a strap. The horse stands against a dark grey background. Between the two hind legs appear two grey fish in a lighter blue-grey zone. The smallest fish, seen in the photo to the right of the forward hoof, is no longer visible today, nor is the ornamental decoration above the "lake." The borders along the bottom and left side are so discolored as to appear merely a muddy dark grey, while the triangular motif at the left side is scarcely more articulated and visible, with a tan and grey alternating scheme.

The colors of the right fragment are only slightly more visible. The horse's foreleg appears more tan in color, possibly even yellowish at the upper part, set against a dark brown and grey background. The large, solid vertical elements of the right border are clearly seen to be red, as are the outlines of the upside-down heart-shaped designs. The thin, vertical outline elements between the solid red and the heart-shaped designs are white and black. The lower border is so badly discolored that, again, everything appears to be an undifferentiated, muddy dark grey.

#### *Discussion of the Fresco Fragments of the "Baptismal Chapel" Outside the Castle Entrance*

Given the very summary notices published by P. Deschamps and L. Réau about these frescoes, our

<sup>52</sup> As derived from the grid the dimensions are approximately 1.04 m. high × 0.61 m. wide.

<sup>53</sup> Again, here it is assumed the fragment exists, but it was deemed too risky to handle stacked fragments on collapsed armatures. See *supra*, note 51.

<sup>54</sup> The width of the left leg, e.g., is 0.095 m. wide.

preliminary examination yields an unexpected complexity both in the range of styles and artists and in the subject matter encountered.<sup>55</sup> It is, however, risky and difficult to attempt to say very much about these paintings until they can be cleaned properly and examined thoroughly, both technically and otherwise.<sup>56</sup> My remarks are further limited by the fact that there is little archeological information yet uncovered to control the physical context in which these paintings were found. Our discussion, therefore, will perforce be brief.

Deschamps made several important points about these paintings which need to be reconsidered in light of our examination. These can be summarized as follows: the frescoes depicted St. Pantaleon and scenes of his miracles; the fragments should be dated to the first half of the twelfth century; and the artist was not Byzantine, but instead combined French and local Syrian traditions.

There can be no doubt that St. Pantaleon figures prominently among these fragments. However, whereas St. Pantaleon takes a place of importance standing immediately next to the throne of Christ and the Virgin *hodeghetria* with the angel, he is clearly subordinate to them. In composition we are reminded of other examples where saints are closely associated with the enthroned Virgin and Child with angels. Indeed, this is a central Christian image in the Middle Ages which reaches back to Early Christian times and for which Syria and the Near East were quite important.<sup>57</sup> With this in mind and looking closely at the fragments of the Virgin and Child with angel and St. Pantaleon on the west wall, we can perhaps agree that the artist who did the

first layer of painting here was strongly Byzantine-influenced in style and iconography. The hieratic presentation of the enthroned group, the aristocratic, frontal figures of the Virgin and Christ with the heavily jeweled halo and throne,<sup>58</sup> the subordinated angel with Byzantine-style fillet, and the frontal standing figure of St. Pantaleon all indicate clear knowledge of Byzantine artistic traditions. St. Pantaleon, in particular, who is severe yet modeled in three dimensions, has standard Byzantine costume, beardless physiognomy, and attributes. Yet when compared to a Byzantine work like the figure of St. Pantaleon at Nerezi (1164), we realize immediately that this is not the work of an artist who is native to the Byzantine tradition.<sup>59</sup> The proportions of the figure and especially the head and face are very different, which causes the Crac St. Pantaleon to seem much less severe. The handling of draperies and other formal passages like the face, hands, and medicine box show a quality of abstraction akin to a Western Romanesque tradition.<sup>60</sup> We can also recall that the inscription identifying St. Pantaleon is in Latin characters.

Indeed, the prominence of St. Pantaleon here in the composition is peculiarly relevant to the blend of East and West which is characteristic of Crusader art. St. Pantaleon was one of a small group of saints in the Middle Ages whose cult was almost equally popular in the West as in the East.<sup>61</sup> Although another example where he appears so closely associated with an enthroned Virgin *hodeghetria* is not readily identifiable, his appearance here is surely appropriate for a Crusader chapel such as this. As a saintly physician he figures as one of the

<sup>55</sup> For Deschamps' publications, see 46 and 47 *supra*. For L. Réau, see *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III,3 (Paris, 1959), 1026. These brief mentions lead one to expect that a more complete publication was planned, but none ever appeared. It remains a mystery why Deschamps, who turned to the intensive study of (French) frescoes in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, apparently did not take up these problematic paintings in a serious article.

<sup>56</sup> Because these fragments were found on the last day of our 1979 campaign it was impossible to carry out the essential conservation measures before we left. Mr. Majid Moussli, Inspector of Antiquities for the Homs Region, was made aware of the situation and has assured me that appropriate conservation will occur as soon as possible.

<sup>57</sup> See, e.g., the sixth-century icon from St. Catherine's: K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, I (Princeton, 1976), 18–21, pls. 4–6, 43–46. Western examples *ca.* 1200 include the fresco at St. Silvestro in Tivoli (Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting* [note 21 *supra*], pl. 65), or one on the cathedral of Le Puy, where the Virgin and Child are flanked by angels and prophets (P. Deschamps and M. Thibout, *La Peinture murale en France au début de l'époque gothique* [Paris, 1963], pl. 1). See also the remarks of V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *ArtB*, 20 (1938), 46 ff.

<sup>58</sup> A contemporary parallel in Syrian territory for the heavily jeweled style seen here is found in the fresco fragments extant in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Qar'a, midway between Damascus and Homs. See J. Leroy, "Découvertes de peintures chrétiennes en Syrie," *AArchArSyr*, 25 (1975), 97–99, 107, and pl. 1. Dr. Erica Dodd will discuss relevant examples in Lebanon from this period in her survey, now under preparation.

<sup>59</sup> V. J. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich, 1976), pl. 5; and R. Hamann-Mac Lean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* (Giessen, 1963), fig. 32.

<sup>60</sup> An interesting contrast is seen between St. Pantaleon here and the extant Byzantine-style fragments of the Anastasis or standing saints done in the second half of the twelfth century at Mar Phocas in Amioun (see note 19 *supra*), or the probably contemporary but unpublished Byzantine-style frescoes from the Qar'a Deir (not to be confused with the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, also at Qar'a), now detached from the wall and preserved in the conservation laboratory of the National Museum in Damascus.

<sup>61</sup> See, on St. Pantaleon, K. Welker, "Pantaleon (Panteleimon) von Nikomedien," *LChrI*, VIII, cols. 112–15 with references. See also, Réau, *op. cit.*, III,3, 1024–26.

four ἀνάγκυροι and among the fourteen intercessors. Thus his presence would appeal to the patrons and users of this chapel: both the Western- (and Eastern-) born Hospitallers who presumably built this little chapel and the local Christian peasants who worked the fields around the castle for them.

Despite the prominent position of St. Pantaleon in this composition, however, the fact that there seem to be other, later layers of painting among the fragments and that one of these layers partly covered the saint himself indicates we must be cautious in identifying the side-wall and other wall scenes.<sup>62</sup> Certainly the style of the other fragments is much more strongly Western in character than the Virgin *hodeghetria* with St. Pantaleon. Possibly we can attribute the strongly related outline style of the seated, draped figure at W:1–3, b-d (fig. 15), the horse, and the fish at N:2–11, a-f (fig. 22) to the hand of a different artist. The diminutive figures of the second-layer fragments at W:39–43, b-e (fig. 21) seem by contrast to relate to the south-wall images, particularly the standing figure with a cap and the kneeling woman at S:5–10, b-f (figs. 13, 14). It is hard to relate in formal terms the west-wall fragment at W:23–25, f-h (fig. 17) to any of the other fragments at present, partly because it is so difficult to see. All of these groupings are of the most tentative sort, given the physical conditions of the fragments and the evidence we have to work with. However, there can be little doubt that these latter groups among the fragmentary paintings account for the idea that the artist(s) working in this chapel may have been Western.

Until the issue of how many layers of painting exist can be fully examined, it is impossible to decide for certain what the other scenes may be. Because there are without doubt at least two and possibly three painted layers, however, it is *prima facie* unlikely, in view of my comments above, that those problematic scenes represent the miracles of St. Pantaleon, as originally suggested. This is corroborated by the fact that none of the extant fragments seems to correspond in any recognizable way to known cycles of the life of St. Pantaleon, such as those at Nerezi or Chartres.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The phenomenon of multiple painted layers, in particular the case of a Westernizing painting covering a more purely Byzantine one, occurs elsewhere in the vicinity of Crac des Chevaliers, just to the south of Tripoli. See the grotto paintings of Mar Marina at Qalamun, in Brossé, *op. cit.* (note 19 *supra*), 30 ff.

<sup>63</sup> For Nerezi, see Hamann-Mac Lean and Hallensleben, *op. cit.*, fig. 45. For the window at Chartres, see Y. Delaporte, *Les*

Among the remaining fragments, other than the Virgin and Christ or St. Pantaleon, the most interesting and of the best quality are the seated draped figure on the west wall (at W:1–3, b-d) (fig. 15) and the horse on the north wall (N:2–11, a-f) (fig. 22). In terms of iconography the seated figure remains unidentified, but the horse can tentatively be recognized as the great white stallion on which St. George rode when performing his miraculous rescues. Because of the presence of the water and fishes in the painting it is likely that this is the one in which the mounted Saint carried the cup-bearing youth from Mitylene across the Aegean Sea from Crete home to Lesbos.<sup>63a</sup> Obviously the theme of Christian deliverance from the hands of the Saracens would have been highly relevant to the Crusaders. Moreover, the cult of St. George had deep roots in Syria-Palestine which the Crusaders, with their own strong interests in and devotion to this Saint, would have found welcome and which they would naturally have reinforced.<sup>63b</sup> Indeed the presence of St. George in this chapel along with St.

*Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres, 1926), 326–33 (window 40), pl. vol. II, pl. 115.

<sup>63a</sup> The standard text edition is: J. Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1913). A recent translation into French with useful discussion of the text is: A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), Saint Georges*, Collection grecques de miracles (Paris, 1971), 313–15 and *passim*.

Despite the popularity of St. George in the Near East, this particular rescue theme is not common in wall painting and I can only cite much later parallels, e.g., a fifteenth-century wall painting on Rhodes: cf. A. Orlandos, *Βυζαντινοί καὶ Μεταβυζαντινοί Ναοὶ τῆς Ῥόδου, Ἀρχαῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 6 (1948), 191 ff., fig. 148. I should like to thank Dr. Temily Mark-Weiner for her help with this problem and for the above references.

The most recent general discussion of this iconography is by O. Meinardus, "The Equestrian Deliverer in Eastern Iconography," *OrChr*, 57 (1973), 142–55. Referring to the youth from Mitylene theme (p. 149) and various explanations of the iconography by A. N. Didron, D. Talbot Rice, C. Enlart, and D. R. Howell (pp. 142–43), Meinardus however omits any reference to the water and fishes. Most of his examples are later icons lacking these critical elements. Some better reproductions of later icons (ca. 15th century) in which the image of St. George slaying the dragon has been merged with the cup-bearing youth are found in: W. Felicetti-Liebenfels, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Ikonmalerei* (Olten-Lausanne, 1956), pl. 124, and S. Braunsfels-Esche, *Sankt Georg: Legende-Verehrung-Symbol* (Munich, 1976), 6, ill. 2.

<sup>63b</sup> As indications of the strong Syrian roots, one can cite the early appearance of the *Acts* of St. George in Syriac: cf. E. W. Brooks, "Acts of S. George," *Le Muséon: Revue d'Etudes Orientales*, 38 (1925), 67–115. The earliest manuscript he cites is dated ca. A.D. 600. Furthermore, in present-day Lebanon and Syria images of St. George are found in a number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century chapels, e.g., at Mar Marina near Tripoli (cf. note 62 *supra*) and the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Qar'a (cf. note 58 *supra*). Finally, recall that the Crusaders on

Pantaleon strikes another strong East-West Crusader note.

Stylistically the monumental conception of these fragments, along with their emphatic abstract quality and strongly two-dimensional linear definition, brings to mind aspects of Romanesque or Early Gothic painting. The idea of a thick major outline echoed by a thin, decorative, parallel line, such as that found on the horse's foreleg, is widespread in French and Catalan fresco painting.<sup>64</sup> The abstract hoof design is distinctive but not paralleled among Byzantine (e.g., Church of St. George in Staraya Ladoga, 1176) or Romanesque horses.<sup>65</sup> The artist painting in the linear style of the rather fat seated figure evidently attempted to interpret more three-dimensional, modeled drapery into linear terms. Thus the zigzag of the drapery hem seen above the right elbow reads more as a flat decorative design than as a volumetric form.

The drapery outline style of the seated figure, along with the simplified conception of the hand, seems to have a general parallel perhaps in the frescoes of the crypt in the cathedral at Clermont-Ferrand published by Bréhier in 1927.<sup>66</sup> One can also say that the strong linearity of our fragments

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the First Crusade had been aided by visions of saints among whom St. George was the most prominent at the siege and capture of Jerusalem (William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, bk. 8, chap. 16 f.).

There are two unpublished Crusader icons with the image of St. George carrying the youth from Mitylene over water, one in London in private hands and one in the collection at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai. Only the Sinai icon has a large area of water with fishes to compare with our fresco fragment. I extend my thanks to Robin Cormack, who is preparing a study of the London icon, for facilitating my examination of this painting. I am indebted to Kurt Weitzmann for showing me photographs of the Sinai icon. Until these icons are published we cannot attempt a full assessment of the Crusader cult of St. George.

<sup>64</sup> See, e.g., frescoes at St. Savin sur Gartemp or San Pedro de Bural (the latter now in Barcelona), in Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, pls. 139, 198 (drapery).

<sup>65</sup> See V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), 106; Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, *passim*; and P. Deschamps, "Combats de cavalerie et épisodes des Croisades dans les peintures murales du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *OCP*, 12 (1947), 454–74. Paintings of horses are often found in the region of the Crusader states, mainly in images of St. George. It is most unfortunate that many such examples extant from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries survive with only the rider and upper parts of the horse intact. Dr. Erica Dodd informs me that in at least three chapels in Lebanon the hooves and/or other parts of a horse and rider are preserved: at Bahdeidat, at Edde and at Enfe in the church of Sayyidat-er-Rih. We await her discussion of this unpublished material.

<sup>66</sup> L. Bréhier, "Peintures romanes d'Auvergne," *GBA*, ser. 5, 16 (1927), 121 ff. Better plates are found with which to compare, e.g., draperies or hands and arms in the two editions of H. Focillon, *Peintures romanes des églises de France* (Paris, 1938), pls. 95–97; rev. ed. (Paris, 1967), 165–68.

brings to mind stained glass and related manuscript illumination. Other such general parallels are found in the glass at Le Champ-près-Froges (Isère) or the Clermont-Ferrand Sacramentary from the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>67</sup> These comparative works illustrate a peculiar feature of our fragments which should give us caution as we seek to understand them better. In the context of more strongly Byzantine painting (as here, e.g., with St. Pantaleon) our fragments appear quite Western. However, when parallels are directly sought in the West it is among the strongly Byzantine-influenced works that general similarities are found. Furthermore, comparisons to Byzantine-influenced Western paintings need to be evaluated against regional contemporary examples such as the frescoes in Lebanon, e.g., around Hadschit in the Qadisha Valley. Again, with this problem we shall be better able to pursue the issues when we have more technical information in hand and the paintings are cleaned.<sup>68</sup>

The one other fragment which seems interesting for our discussion here is the kneeling woman on the south wall (figs. 14, 15). Whereas the large standing figure beside which she kneels appears to be a Western artist's imitation of a standard Byzantine standing saint with long garment and heavily embroidered hem, the little female reminds us of women donor figures in Cypriot painting and in Crusader icons. Because of severe losses to the lower right side of the fragment since 1935, when the photos of figs. 14 and 15 were taken, we cannot be certain about the color of the long veil which the kneeling woman wears. It is surely dark, possibly dark grey, but not black. Thus we should probably not associate this veil with the idea of mourning, as discussed by David Talbot Rice and Weitzmann.<sup>69</sup>

Finally, we must face the problem of dating. Here we are on very uncertain grounds because of the

<sup>67</sup> L. Grodecki, *Le Vitrail roman* (Fribourg, 1977), 187–94, figs. 162–63, 167.

<sup>68</sup> The issue comes to mind in looking at these paintings that the strong outlines may indicate modern overpainting. So far there is no firm technical evidence to enable us to judge nor can there be until the baptismal chapel paintings are cleaned and restored to their condition in 1935. However, it should be noted that photographs of the frescoes on the wall before removal, when compared with photos of the paintings after being placed on the armatures, do not indicate restorative overpainting. If, in fact, there has been little or no overpainting, as seems likely, we still need to identify the exact technique and to determine how much of the surface pigmentation of the area within the heavy outlines of the draperies survives.

<sup>69</sup> Weitzmann, "Icon Painting" (note 30 *supra*), 72 and fig. 49. See also Stylianou, *op. cit.* (note 30 *supra*), 101 ff.; and D. Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937), 103.

lack of archeological evidence, as mentioned above. However, I would propose the following as a working hypothesis. In the absence of indications to the contrary, the construction of this baptismal chapel most likely occurred during the period of Hospitaller control at Crac des Chevaliers, that is, 1142–1271. To the extent that this chapel may represent some kind of organized relationship between the Hospitallers inside and the peasants who farmed surrounding lands to support the garrison, Crac is so far unique in having a surviving decorated external building. Because the complement of soldiers at Crac and the size of the castle itself only grew significantly enough to require this kind of organized relationship during the Hospitaller period the chapel would likely date after 1142.

The painting fragments that survive all seem to date from the twelfth century, or possibly as late as the early thirteenth century, based on the factors already described above. It would seem that the more Byzantine-style paintings were the earlier, possibly dating sometime between 1142 and 1170. The hieratic courtly style would seem to correspond to later Comnenian work insofar as can be seen, and the uncial style of the inscription parallels the shape of letters in texts found throughout the twelfth century on major Crusader monuments.<sup>70</sup> The other fragments would seem to have been painted later in the twelfth century or just after 1200, based on the general parallels cited above. Although we cannot make a firm correlation as yet between the painting layers and the dates of earthquake activity at Crac, we would not be surprised eventually to place the Virgin *hodeghetria*-St. Pantaleon layer before 1170 and the others afterward. It would be premature to go beyond these suggestions at the moment.

In conclusion, the fresco fragments from Crac des Chevaliers offer many surprises due to the extent and variety of the extant works. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of these paintings is the fact that the largest group comes from the most modest architectural source. Bearing in mind that the baptismal chapel at Crac gives every indication of having been built for the use of the Christian peasant families who farmed the surrounding lands to support the castle garrison, we can only at present imagine by comparison how impressively the main chapel inside Crac may have been decorated.

<sup>70</sup>S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae* (Jerusalem, 1974), Jerusalem: 64–65 (#74), 86–87 (#102), 91 (#108); or Bethlehem: 211 ff. (#283–309).

Future work at Crac des Chevaliers may yet uncover more evidence to help us visualize just what those painted decorations looked like.

## MARQAB CASTLE<sup>71</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

Investigation of fresco painting at Marqab Castle is focused entirely on the main chapel. In the spring of 1978 paintings were noticed on the vault of the northeast room on the interior of the chapel, and a small area was cleared on the southeast end of the room. In the spring of 1979 the plaster overlays were completely removed by the conservator of the Syrian Antiquities Service. Our investigations in May 1979 centered on the frescoes in that room and an examination of the walls of the main chapel nave and apse for possible additional extant painted surfaces.

### THE MAIN CHAPEL (figs. D, 23–25)

The main nave consists of two large wide bays articulated by a broad but pointed transverse arch with voussoirs rectangular in section and chamfered on the edges of the intrados. The transverse arch springs from a compound pier composed of a column engaged to rectangular buttress elements which are unified at the top by triple acanthus capitals. Each bay has a pointed groin vault, without ribs, rising to the center point. The side and west end walls are unarticulated, but each, with one exception, is centrally pierced by a large window, which is slightly pointed (fig. 25). On the side walls the windows rise to a height just above the springing of the transverse arch. On the west wall the window is placed high above the main entrance portal. At ground level the south wall of the east bay has two niches which seem to have been used as *mihrābs* during Moslem occupation. On the north wall of the east bay there is a large niche with a pointed arch over which the window is found.<sup>72</sup> Both niche and window, axially aligned, are also aligned with the center of the wall. To the left a door is pierced in the side wall of the same bay

<sup>71</sup>The castle known today as Marqab, from the Arabic al-Marqab, was referred to in medieval Latin texts as Margat. For this and the history of the castle, see Deschamps, *Les Châteaux, III, Tripoli et Antioche*, 259–72; *idem*, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 138–44; and R. Breton, "Monographie du château de Markab en Syrie," *MélUSJ*, 47 (1972), 251–74. See also W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter im Heiligen Lande, auf Zypern, und in der Agäis* (Munich-Berlin, 1966), 60; and the work of N. Elisséeff who is interested in the history of Marqab (note 120 *infra*).

<sup>72</sup>This niche was possibly used for burials, but its function is uncertain.



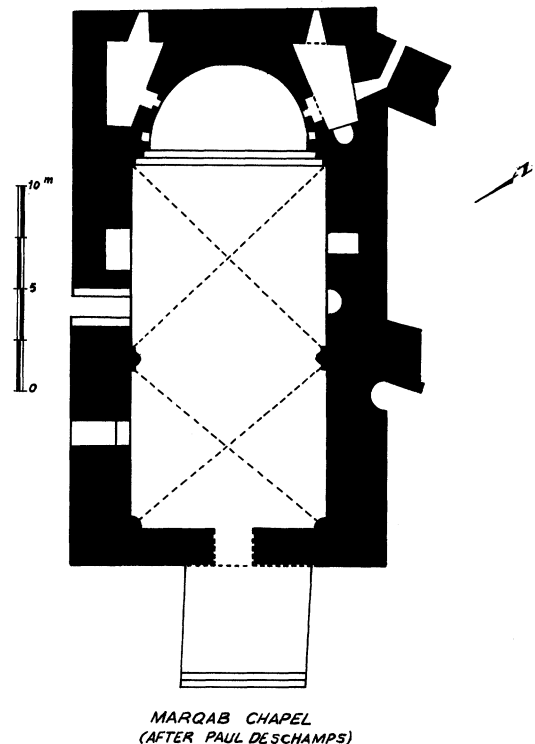
next to the compound pier of the transverse arch. By this door one enters from the courtyard level and descends by a series of three steps to the floor level of the chapel.

The apse is articulated and set off from the main nave by two stairs, a double-vousoir transverse arch carried down to stair level by two setbacks in the wall, and a molding around the springing level of the apse vault (fig. 24). The apse semidome rests on a semicircular wall pierced only by a centrally placed pointed arch and window whose voussoirs intrude slightly on the molding raising it in a gentle curve. The semicircular wall is pierced internally at the north and south sides by small rectangular portal openings, 1.78 m. high  $\times$  0.675 m. wide. These portals lead to small sacristy rooms with pointed barrel vaults, narrow at the west end, broadening toward the east and with the east end wall pierced by slit-windows (*archères*). These sacristy rooms are hollowed out of the solid fabric of the chevet between the rectangular exterior and the semicircular apse wall.

The interior measurements of the chapel are 23.0 m. long  $\times$  10 m. wide. The interior dimensions of the northeast sacristy room, in which the main fresco finds were made, are 3.43 m. long along the north wall  $\times$  1.635 m. wide at the west end and 2.69 m. at the east end. More detailed measurements of the northeast room will be introduced where appropriate below.

The main chapel as seen today is entirely the product of construction by the Hospitallers who took control of the castle on 1 February 1186.<sup>73</sup> Deschamps concluded further on the basis of his analysis of the masonry of the chapel and its relationship to the abutting structures that the chapel was among the first buildings built by the Hospitallers and probably the first completed. He concluded that the date of the chapel should be "1186 ou aussitôt après."<sup>74</sup> After reexamining the masonry of the chapel we are persuaded Deschamps is correct. Thus we shall date the fabric of the chapel on which the painted plaster layers were found to 1186–87.

The chapel of Marqab Castle is notable for the way it was employed in contrast to the main chapel



D.

at Crac des Chevaliers. Both, of course, were used as the center of religious ceremonies for the respective garrison soldiers of the knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. However, Marqab, the larger castle with a slightly larger chapel, was the site of a general chapter sometime between 1204 and 1206.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, after the capture of the nearby town of Baniyas (Valenia) by Şalaḥ ad-Dīn in 1188 the Bishop of Valenia, suffragan to the archbishop of Apamea, transferred his *cathedra* to Marqab.<sup>76</sup> Thus, in effect, in 1188 the Marqab chapel became a cathedral church.

After the castle was taken by the Mamlukes on 23 May 1286 the chapel seems to have been used as a mosque while the fortress was largely employed as a prison.<sup>77</sup> During this time and subsequently when it was occupied by Arab villagers the chapel was covered with plaster and niches were introduced in the main nave for use as *mihrābs*

<sup>73</sup> Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 264; and *idem*, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 140–41.

<sup>74</sup> Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 277–80, 282–83; *idem*, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 148–51. Given this dating, it is interesting that Deschamps cites Marcel Aubert as comparing the molding profiles to those in the Île de France of 1150–75, indicating a certain time lag.

<sup>75</sup> Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 267.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 269, 277; *idem*, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 143; and Enlart, *op. cit.* (note 5 *supra*), text vol. II, 441–43.

<sup>77</sup> Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 271–72; *idem*, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 144; and Breton, *op. cit.*, 265–66, 268–72.

(noted above), and in the two sacristy rooms for as yet undetermined purposes.

#### THE FRESCO FRAGMENTS ON THE INTERIOR (figs. 24, 26, 27)

No fresco painting had been observed or reported in the main chapel until the nave and apse areas were carefully examined in May 1979. Because of the variable nature of the surviving plaster layers our work in these areas was mainly concerned with the walls of the apse up to the cornice molding. Some exploratory probes were also undertaken on the walls of the main body of the chapel.

##### 1. *The Apse* (figs. 24, 26, 27)

Virtually no plaster or painted surface appears in the apse conch, but in the north and south sectors of the apse wall below the cornice some traces of a painted surface are visible where the layers of overplaster have fallen away. Where overplaster does exist at least two layers are visible, each approximately 1.0 cm. thick. Overall the exposed surfaces are considerably smoke blackened and covered with graffiti, although one does not see here the substantial live mold growths found in the chapel at Crac.

##### a. *The North Sector of the Apse Wall* (figs. 26, 27)

A trace of painted surface was visible where overlayers of plaster had fallen away above and slightly to the left of the door opening to the northeast room. One could also see traces of painted plaster on the intrados of the door, although it is covered with mold growth.

The overplaster of the fragment above the door was further removed, enlarging the exposed painted surface to an irregular area 0.51 m. high  $\times$  0.58 m. wide (maximum) rising from a point 1.88 m. above the floor level. This enlargement made it possible to assess the condition of the paint layer and to establish the nature of the painted design.

The pattern revealed is geometric in form with a grid in which lozenge-shaped forms containing equal-armed crosses alternate with those containing vertical stripes. The arms of the crosses are *ca.* 5 cm. wide and 10 cm. long, the vertical stripes are *ca.* 4 to 5 cm. wide, and the lozenge grid measures *ca.* 26.0 cm. on a side.

The paint layer is executed *only* in a light red pigment made from red earth. The main colorant when analyzed was found to be iron oxide. No trace of other pigments was found to be associated with this pattern.

The plaster layer with the geometric grid-cross design is *ca.* 1.0 cm. thick, and its constituents are lime with graded quartz sand filler. Laid directly on the masonry of the apse wall, it anomalously thins at the door opening to *ca.* 3.0 mm. and runs over an underlayer on the intrados. The plaster underlayer has broad painted bands deeper in hue and different in design. However, the sole colorant is the same iron oxide found above. No trace of this earlier painted plaster layer could be found elsewhere on the apse wall.

Exploratory probes were made elsewhere in the overplaster of the apse wall (north sector) in order to attempt to discover the extent of the paint layer bearing the geometric grid-cross design. One small painted area was located under two thick plaster layers directly over the grid-cross fragment at a height of *ca.* 3.3 m. above the floor (fig. 26). The exact nature of the upper painted design remains in doubt because only this one small area was discovered. In this fragment there are a series of small, flamelike shapes lined up in irregular sizes. Like the geometric grid-cross pattern they are executed solely in red-earth pigment. Unfortunately, the plaster bearing this painted layer is not a continuous surface, and it must have suffered considerable losses before the overplaster was applied.

A thorough examination of the plaster layers was made on the apse wall on the right side of the door to the northeast room. No trace of the original plaster or any painted surface was found, however.

##### b. *The Central (East) and South Sectors of the Apse Wall*

A thorough examination of the plaster layers was made around the window in the central part of the apse wall. No trace of the original plaster or any painted surface could be found, however.

Exploratory probes were made on the wall surrounding the doorway to the southeast room. Tiny traces of the plaster bearing the geometric grid-cross design reappear only immediately around the portal opening. Elsewhere the search proved fruitless, and it appears the painted surface has been lost.

##### 2. *The Nave* (figs. 24, 25) *and Southeast Room*

The north, west, and south walls of the nave were superficially examined along with the southeast room. All three walls and the room have been rather crudely plastered over. Beneath the thick outer layer(s) absolutely no traces of fine plaster similar to that found in the apse (or the northeast room) could be observed, nor was there any sign of a painted surface.

*Discussion of the Fresco Fragments from the Apse of the Main Chapel*

Because the major frescoes discovered in the Marqab chapel are found in the northeast room, most of our discussion will appear below. However the following observations on the apse paintings are appropriate here.

The geometric grid-cross pattern can, by extrapolation from the large surviving fragment, be assumed to extend to a height of at least 2.6 m. and quite possibly *ca.* 3.0 m. above the floor. At some level in that zone the grid-cross pattern terminated and a different irregular pattern was painted above.

The paintings found on the apse wall all have the nature of underpaint.<sup>78</sup> Taken together, they all appear to belong to the underdrawing of the decoration chosen for the dado area of the apse wall.

The fresco decoration of the apsidal dado zone with geometric designs on the apse wall is known elsewhere in the Crusader states, most notably in the Hospitaller church at Abu Ghosh dating to the third quarter of the twelfth century. At Abu Ghosh, however, the design features roundels in the apse, although large lozenge shapes appear on the piers of the nave.<sup>79</sup>

Byzantine and Western fresco decoration often includes geometric ornament on the dado, but the Marqab scheme is unusual if the grid-cross pattern rose to a height of *ca.* 3 m. with no figural elements included. Whereas Byzantine mosaic decoration often employed large apsidal dado areas faced with marble slabs arranged in geometric patterns as, e.g., at St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai or Hosios Loukas, these are not normally found with frescoes.<sup>80</sup> Instead, one usually finds small ornamental zones with figures dominating. In this respect the indications of extensive geometric ornament on the apse wall may represent a regional Christian tradition found

in Syria-Palestine, but this is yet to be determined.<sup>81</sup>

Certainly the use of the equal-armed cross in some kind of pattern is a popular Byzantine decorative motif that is found in mosaic and fresco decoration throughout the Middle Ages. However, although one can think of numerous cases where bold geometric ornament using cross shapes is used in Byzantine frescoes, mosaics, or even the borders of manuscript illumination, no exact analogue to our grid-cross pattern has been found. Thus, whereas the choice of the grid-cross pattern seems based on Byzantine geometric preferences, as opposed to the foliate designs so popular in Norman Sicily, the specific pattern used in the Marqab chapel seems so far to be a strictly local version.<sup>82</sup>

Finally, although we shall discuss the dating of the paintings in the Marqab chapel in the context of the frescoes in the northeast room, there is one additional important aspect of the apse underdrawing which needs comment. Apparently the apse wall was prepared to receive fresco decoration that was never carried out. The facts that no pigment is extant other than the iron oxide colorant and that the remains are so random and discontinuous insofar as we have been able to locate them to date clearly suggest that the decoration of the apse was abruptly discontinued even after detailed plans had been made for it. The fact also that no trace of painting or even of the fine plaster layer could be found elsewhere in the nave suggests that the interruption came at an early stage. Indeed, the remarkable feature of this chapel in terms of painted decoration resides in the fact that the only completed frescoes extant are fragmentarily but substantially found in the northeast room.

**3. The Northeast Room** (figs. D, 28, 29)

The northeast room, one of two sacristy rooms identified by Paul Deschamps, is an irregularly shaped vaulted chamber whose inner (south) wall abuts the north sector of the apse wall and whose outer (north) wall adjoins the exterior (north) wall of the chapel.<sup>83</sup> The interior of the room is 3.45 m.

and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (note 28 *supra*), pl. 1 (see also Torcello, pl. 2).

<sup>81</sup> This handling is clearly distinct from what is normally found in, e.g., Cappadocian churches, where figural decoration is brought down close to floor level and the ornamental dado zone is kept to a minimum; see M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien* (Recklinghausen, 1967), III, fig. 328.

<sup>82</sup> Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, pls. 10a, 18b, 27b (Hosios Loukas) in contrast to pls. 20, 31, 46 (Monreale).

<sup>83</sup> Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 277; *idem*, *Terre Sainte Romane*, 148.

<sup>78</sup> See D. C. Winfield, "Middle and Later Byzantine Wall Painting Methods. A Comparative Study," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 80 ff., pl. 3 ff.; and the general remarks by D. V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (New York, 1956), 38 ff., 97 ff. See also the useful comments by L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo: Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels, 1975), 321 ff.; and A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and Its Frescoes," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 284–86.

<sup>79</sup> The frescoes in the Crusader church at Abu Ghosh are not fully published, and no photos of these examples can be cited; see note 20 *supra*. Note also that the baptismal chapel at Crac has painted dado ornament, although it has no apse.

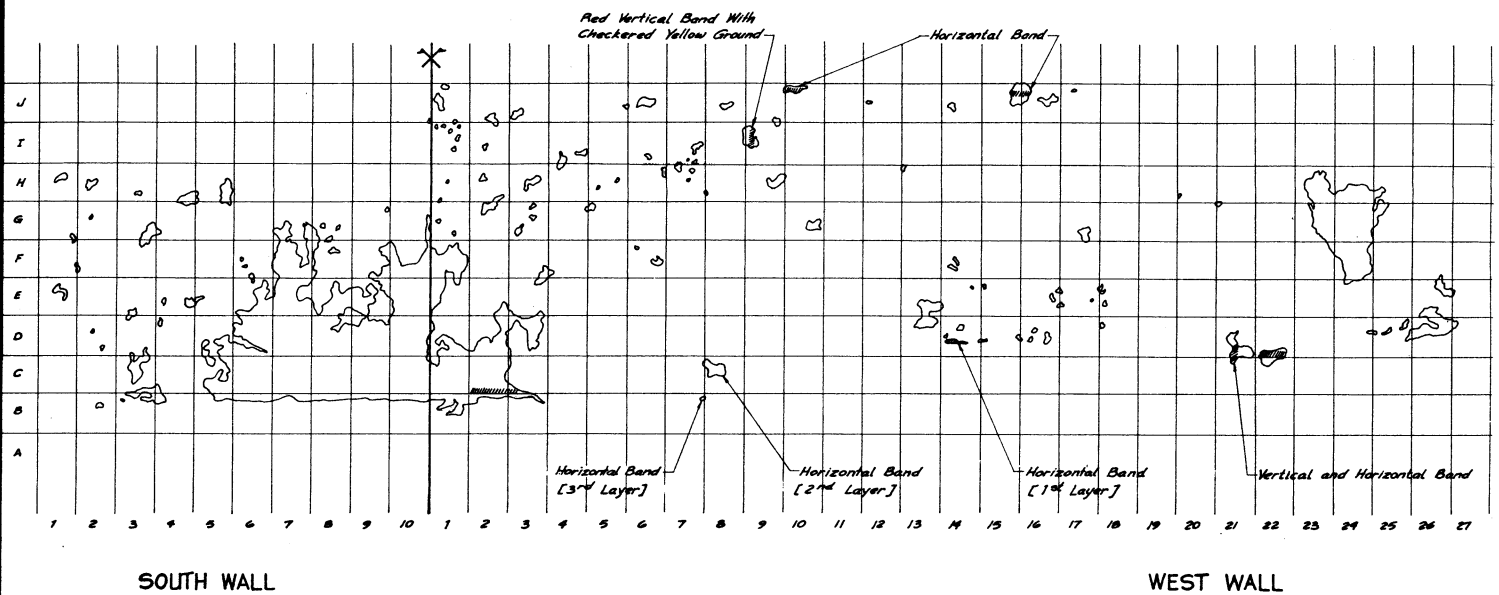
<sup>80</sup> See, for St. Catherine's, G. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian* (Ann Arbor [1968]), pls. 84, 88, 89a, 136–37;

# CRAC DES CHEVALIERS STATE OF THE FRESCOS IN THE BAPTISMAL CHAPEL

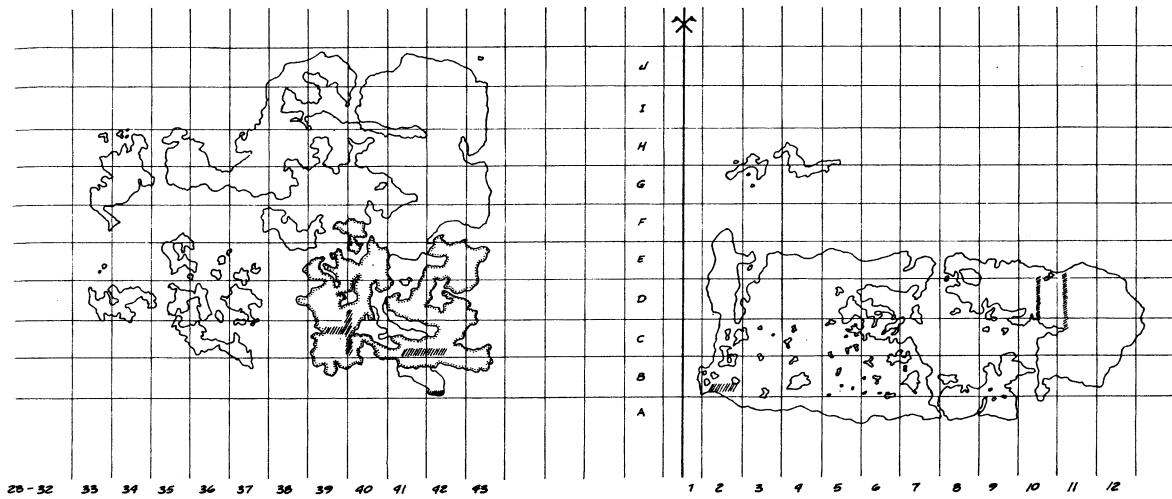
25 SEPTEMBER 1935

(AFTER M. PIERRE COUPEL)

SCALE 0.05M PER METER



N.B. The Dotted Line Designates A 2<sup>nd</sup> Layer



NORTH WALL

long on the center axis. It is 1.635 m. wide  $\times$  3.68 m. from the floor level to the apex of the painted vault at the small, west end and 2.69 m. wide  $\times$  3.97 m. high at the large, east end. The pointed barrel vault rises from a springing level that varies around the room from *ca.* 2.30 m. in the southwest corner and along the southern wall to *ca.* 2.6 m. at the eastern end of the north wall. The springing level descends to a point *ca.* 2.27 m. above floor level at the northwest end.<sup>84</sup> The door opening is rectangular on the exterior but slightly arched on the interior, 1.02 m. wide  $\times$  *ca.* 1.85 m. high, and the southwest jamb surface is located 0.76 m. from the southwest corner of the room. The slit-window piercing the east wall opens to an interior width of 0.75 m. and a height of 1.41 m.<sup>85</sup>

a. *The Frescoes* (figs. 28–40)

The greater part of our time on this campaign of field work (May 1979) was focused on the newly found frescoes in the northeast room of the chapel. Since the time of initial discovery (spring 1978) the remaining cover layer of plain lime plaster had been stripped away, and the paintings, fully exposed, had been cleaned and otherwise conserved, which included securing the edges of the painted plaster with plaster of paris and some touching up where the paint surface was missing. These activities were carried out by the staff of the Conservation Laboratory of the Syrian Department of Antiquities prior to our arrival at Marqab on 1 May 1979.

b. *The Frescoes on the Vault* (figs. 28, 30–37)

The largest area of extant fresco painting in the northeast room survives on the vault. Extensive fragments exist of twelve male figures with haloes seated, six on each side of the vault, on brown wooden highbacked benches. Most of the figures are bearded and most look toward the center of the vaulted chamber. From the curious “cloudy” strip that runs along the apex ridge of the vault (fig. 28) some rays of light can still be seen emanating toward the heads of the seated figures. The scene, with its twelve apostles, is clearly to be recognized as a Pentecost. Unfortunately, no inscriptions could be identified.

There are large losses in the painted plaster, especially in the central part of the south slope of the

vault, and the lower parts of all the other figures on this side are gone as well. On the north slope little remains below the level of the bench seat except for the figure at the west end. In describing the surviving paintings we shall begin in the southeast with the two figures which constituted the original discovery in 1978 and proceed clockwise around the vault, that is, from east to west on the south side and subsequently from west to east on the north side.

Apostle 1, Southeast Corner (figs. 30 and 31 [left])

A beardless young male figure with short hair sits holding a scroll in his left hand and apparently making a blessing gesture with his right.<sup>86</sup> He has a yellow halo with irregular (retouched) borders of black (inner) and white (outer) set against a dark blue-black ground.<sup>87</sup> There are only traces of the original paint surface on the hair and face. The “scrubbed” appearance, especially noticeable on the right side of the head, is probably the result of the main paint layer coming off when the plaster overlayer came away. Some of the underdrawing of the face and neck, done in a dark red brown (retouched?), still survives. The skin pigments are much flaked, but fragments indicate yellowish pink coloring.

The drapery consists of a tunic painted in maroon-brown with pinkish modulations and highlights of a white wash, and a mantle drawn in bright red-orange outlines (heavily retouched). Little of the pigmentation of the surfaces between the red outlines remains. The left hand is painted with a creamy flesh tone and black outlines. The scroll is white with black outlines. The pigment layer of the lower drapery is almost entirely gone.

The figure sits on a brown bench with a reddish cushion. The high back is medium dark brown with geometric ornament in light brown and a black outline along the top studded with white disc shapes. Above the figure to his left a ray consisting of a red color with white outlines on each side descends from the “cloudy strip” to cross the perimeter of the halo. The cloudy strip itself is blue-grey with a white outline containing a scalloped line in bright red. The surface of the bench, background, and cloudy zone above appear to be in reasonably good condition between apostles 1 and 2 but is mostly gone in the southeast corner. On the apostle’s right side

<sup>84</sup>The springing level is not so irregular as these measurements might suggest. It is instead the floor level which is the primary cause of these fluctuations.

<sup>85</sup>There are also two openings in the wall of apparently modern origin. A hole (diameter = *ca.* 30 cm.) pierces the lower wall on the southeast side and communicates with the apse. In the center of the north wall there is a large, irregular oval niche. The function of these openings is unclear.

<sup>86</sup>All descriptions of these apostle figures employ references to *their* right and left, not to the right and left sides as the viewer sees them.

<sup>87</sup>The halo diameter is 0.35 m.

only bits of a red border can be seen to separate him from the east wall.

Apostle 2, toward the Southeast End (figs. 30 and 31 [right])

The head and halo<sup>88</sup> of the second apostle are heavily damaged and smoke blackened and the lower legs are completely gone. Like the first apostle, apostle 2 looks to his left and is seated with a scroll in his left hand, blessing with his right. The second figure has very dark, possibly black, hair with an equally dark beard of medium size. He wears an undergarment of reddish brown with some parts mixed with black. The flesh tones of the arm and hands are creamy but flat with little modeling. The scroll is white with black outlines. The outer garment is white with reddish brown drapery fold lines and outlines. The left side of the body (drapery, hand, scroll) is heavily retouched. The reddish cushion and brown back of the bench of this apostle are the same on his right side as for apostle 1 but are gone on the left. Nothing much is visible above apostle 2, where the cloudy strip has mostly disappeared.

Apostle 3, Left Center of the South Side (fig. 32 [far left])

The third apostle is completely gone except for a shadow of his halo. The cloudy strip above is in remarkably good condition, by contrast.

Apostle 4, Right Center of the South Side (fig. 32 [left center])

The yellow halo<sup>89</sup> survives with a thin black (inner) and broader white (outer) border. The face is heavily damaged, but fragments survive of reddish brown outlines (retouched?) and the creamy flesh pigment. The head is turned slightly to the right toward the center of the room. The same dark blue background visible between apostles 1 and 2 survives here, along with a tiny portion of the back of the brown bench on the left side. The cloudy strip above is damaged by flaking, and the ray slanting down from above on the right is completely lost except for a trace of the red center at the point where it leaves the edge of the cloudy zone.

Apostle 5, toward the Southwest End (figs. 32 [right center], 33 [left], 34)

The head, halo,<sup>90</sup> and upper body of this figure are the best preserved of the twelve and have the least retouching, especially in the head. The halo survives here rather discolored, but most of its sur-

face pigment is gone. The outer black and white borders appear retouched. The hair is dark brown with black outlines and there is a dark brown medium-sized beard and moustache. The underpainting of the brows, eyes, nose, etc. is reddish brown overpainted with black. The flesh tones are built up in cream-colored layers using red to give the face a ruddy complexion. Reds are also used in the beard with the brown to give a sense of depth and texture. The eyes are outlined but the pigments of the pupils are flaked away, as is the case in every one of these apostles. The flesh tones on the neck are again cream, built up over a greenish base and shaded to give a three-dimensional quality. This head and neck comprise the only decent extant example of the painting technique for flesh areas used by the painter(s) of the Pentecost scene.

The draperies of the lower body are simple in handling, in contrast to the head. The tunic is white with the familiar red-brown fold lines and outlines. The linear elements are probably retouched, but the white cloth color here bears some original pigment, verifying the intention of the artist(s) to use white draperies, a peculiar feature of the paintings in this room. The outer garment may originally have been plum colored, although it is quite blackened now. The outlines of this garment are black and may have been retouched. Finally, the flesh of the hands and arms is done in rather flat, cream-colored paint which seems to have lost some surface pigment. The black outlines also appear retouched on the hands and the white scroll.

The back of the bench on which this figure sits is similar to that between apostles 1 and 2, but most of its surface pigment is gone. Above, the dark blue ground is the same as before, as is the cloudy zone, and a long ray slanting down on the right is comprised of the standard red center and white side lines. The cloudy zone is rather flaked above this figure.

Apostle 6, Southwest Corner (figs. 32 [far right], 33 [right])

In contrast to apostle 5, this figure has been heavily repainted in the head and draperies. Like apostle 5, apostle 6 is blessing with his right hand, holds a scroll in his left, and has his head turned slightly to his right, toward the center of the room. Very little of the original pigment remains except perhaps in parts of the halo.<sup>91</sup> The draperies of this figure now seem confused but were probably comparable to those of apostles 1, 2, and 5. Apostle

<sup>88</sup> The halo diameter is 0.345 m.

<sup>89</sup> The halo diameter is 0.365 m.

<sup>90</sup> The halo diameter is 0.361 m.

<sup>91</sup> The halo diameter is 0.328 m.

6 had a tunic and a mantle which looped over the left leg and swirled over the stomach.

The bench back is visible but is heavily flaked on both sides of the figure. Only the upper black border with its double row of white disc shapes is notable as the only reasonably preserved portion of this design. Above, the blue ground, ray, and cloud zone appear in the standard way except that the clouds narrow slightly at the end. At the far west side of this corner section of the vault a broad red border separates the bench from the end wall. The red border is articulated with a thin white inner line along the blue ground. The white line flows from the cloud zone above, which is also set off by the red border.

Apostle 7, Northwest Corner (figs. 35 [far left], 36)

Most of this apostle is completely lost. Portions of the halo<sup>92</sup> remain with almost all of the pigment layer gone. Of the head, one can only see that this figure had ample medium-brown hair. The head is also turned slightly to the left toward the center of the room.

Above the halo one can barely see small patches of the dark blue ground, to the left the ray slanting down, and the cloudy zone; all are severely damaged. Nothing clearly survives of the bench.

The most important surviving element of this apostle is a fragment of his lower legs and feet (fig. 36). Here we see the white tunic shaded with rust color and with red-brown outlines along with vestiges of what appears to be a light-colored mantle. Below are the sandaled feet: the right profile foot is in creamy tones with the straps in black, the left foot in a three-quarter view but quite damaged. Below the feet is an oval reddish cushioned footrest with white disc triads for decoration. The lower bench is light brown, but much pigment is gone. There is a red border along the western end to separate this scene from the west end wall. Below, there is a red border *ca.* 5 cm. wide separating the apostles from an arcade underneath. We shall describe the arcade fragments *infra*.

Apostle 8, toward the Northwest End (figs. 32 [top right], 35 [left center])

Only the halo<sup>93</sup> survives with mainly the upper part of a large head, bald except for a trace of white hair on top. Most of this fragment seems heavily repainted. The head is turned slightly to the left.

Above the halo there are portions of the grey-

blue ground, irregular in color, and the cloud zone, much damaged. Nothing of the ray survives.

Apostle 9, Left Center of the North Side (figs. 32 [top center], 35 [right center])

The head, neck, and halo<sup>94</sup> are smoke blackened. None of the lower body remains except for a small portion of brownish tunic and mantle. The head appears retouched. The apostle's head is turned slightly to his left. He is mostly bald with a medium-long black beard.

A vestige of the bench survives to the left. The dark blue ground is blackened and discolored, as is the cloud zone above. Part of the ray survives to the upper left.

Apostle 10, Right Center of the North Side (figs. 32 [top left], 35 [far right])

A bust-length fragment is extant, smoke blackened and with surface losses to the face. The left side of the halo<sup>95</sup> is completely gone, and the halo is quite damaged on the opposite side. The head has curly grey hair and probably a beard, but it is impossible to be sure because of the damage. One eye retains the pupil and light brown iris. Most of the creamy skin pigment is gone. The head is turned slightly to the right.

Of the lower body, only the light brown of the tunic on the chest and the darker brown of the mantle over the left shoulder, all with deep maroon outlines, survive.<sup>96</sup> A small patch of the light brown bench can be seen to the right and left. Above and to the right, tiny bits of the ray cut across the severely damaged halo all the way to the face. The dark blue-grey ground and cloud zone are extant only above and to the apostle's right.

Apostle 11, toward the Northeast End (fig. 37 [left])

Most of the pigment layer of this figure is lost, and the surviving outlines are retouched. The head and halo<sup>97</sup> are mostly gone on the right side. The head retains traces of black hair with grey highlights. Of the face, part of the right pupil and light brown iris remains. Only small bits of the creamy skin color can be seen. The head is turned slightly to the left, thus away from the center of the room, the only extant head to deviate from the central point of concentration.

The drapery on the body is gone except for some

<sup>94</sup> The halo diameter is 0.371 m.

<sup>95</sup> The halo diameter is 0.360 m.

<sup>96</sup> A heavily damaged part of the lower body appears about waist level, but the losses are too great to enable us to describe anything exactly.

<sup>97</sup> The halo diameter is 0.351 m.

<sup>92</sup> The halo diameter is 0.37 m.

<sup>93</sup> The halo diameter is 0.357 m.



of the light-colored mantle with retouched outlines in reddish brown. The bench survives in irregular segments on both sides of the figure, but all of the surface pigment appears to have dropped away with the plaster overlayer. The standard blue-grey ground and cloud zone appear above to the left. The damage to the right side has completely obliterated the ray.

Apostle 12, Northeast Corner (fig. 37 [right])

The figure appears to have been black-haired, turned slightly to the right, and wearing a blue tunic and a light brown mantle. Almost all of the original pigment surface is gone except in the halo,<sup>98</sup> where a bit of the pigment is extant on the right side. Traces of the figure survive, however, down to a point just below the knees.

The apostle is almost completely destroyed on the left side. Only bits of the red border survive. On the right the bench is extant but with the top pigment layer mostly gone. The grey-blue ground remains but the ray does not, only a disturbance on the ground to indicate where the ray had been.

Above, the cloud zone is extant with the scalloped red line particularly pronounced. The cloudy strip narrows precipitously almost to a point at the east end, as it did also on the west end.

c. *The Frescoes on the North and South Side Walls Beneath the Vault* (figs. 36, 38, 39)

Careful investigation of the side walls below the Pentecost scene revealed three small fragments of what must have been an arcade of frontal saints with haloes. The arcade registers appear on both north and south walls as a continuous strip above the door, niche, etc. The arcade register seems to have been at least *ca.* 65 cm. high on the north wall and *ca.* 80 cm. high on the south wall.<sup>99</sup> If, as appears to be the case, each arch roughly corresponds to the width of one apostle above in the Pentecost scene, there were a total of twelve saints. Unfortunately, so little survives of these registers that we cannot identify the saints or even ascertain if there were inscriptions. The restrictions of the arcade height and its proportions would suggest that the saints were seated, but it is also possible that they were standing or bust-length figures. Too little is extant to be sure.

The North Wall Fragment (figs. 36, 38)

Directly below apostle 7 in the northwest corner, separated by a red border 5 cm. wide, one can see

the remains of an arch decorated in a key meander pattern painted in grey with black outlines and set against a cream-colored background. Inside the arch one can barely make out the vestigial remains of the left side of a halo. To the far left is part of the vertical red border.

The South Wall Fragments (fig. 39)

Two fragments survive on the south wall. In the southwest corner an almost invisible fragment retains a small segment of an arch decorated in a zig-zag pattern. Above and to the left, just over the southwest corner of the door, one can see red rosettes inside red circles. Apparently these were part of a pattern which appeared on the lower drapery of one of the arcade saints. Finally, it appears that the intrados of the doorway is painted on the same plaster layer as the south sidewall, and this is also continuous with plaster on the lower area of the main apse wall.

These sidewall fragments indicate that an extensive program of decoration was undertaken in the northeast room. Though they are very small bits of physical evidence it is most fortunate even they survive, because virtually no other painted plaster is extant on the sidewalls below the level of the springing of the vault.

d. *The Frescoes on the West End Wall* (figs. 28, 40)

The painted plaster layer of the west end wall is heavily damaged with a very large loss in the central part of the upper zone, i.e., at the level of the vault. Moreover, the extant surface is severely flaked and discolored by moisture. Nonetheless, enough survives on this wall to recognize the scene of the Nativity, of which the large loss mainly comprised the reclining figure of the Virgin. The most readily visible fragments of the scene are found in the upper left segment, and we shall describe the identifiable remains moving clockwise from that point.

The Three Magi (fig. 40)

The heads, torsos, and arms of two diminutive standing male figures can be seen at the upper left of the scene. Both figures are dressed in white garments outlined in maroon with a reddish strip across the shoulders. They wear circular hats which are cream-yellow in color, indicating their nobility. They both hold orange-yellow boxes in their hands. The faces and hands of these figures are very simply drawn. The man at the left is young and unbearded; his compatriot to the right is older and bearded. Both have hair and beards of very dark brown. To the right of the bearded man apparently stood a third figure, only the traces of whose drapery survive vestigially. The two figures stand

<sup>98</sup> The halo diameter is 0.355 m.

<sup>99</sup> These estimated figures for the measurements are based on the assumption that the wall piercings below did not disturb these paintings.

against a light orange-brown hill whose outline undulates just above their heads.

Other Fragments (fig. 28)

Above the hill is a dark blue ground where the shadowy remains of three standing winged figures appear. The vestiges of the haloes suggest that the central angel was frontal and the two side angels appeared with their wings in profile. Only the gently curving yellowish wing and the lower white drapery outlined in red of the left angel is readily visible today and can be seen in the upper right corner of fig. 40.

At the lower right side the fragmentary lower drapery of one shepherd figure can barely be seen near the north sidewall. He is wearing a short white tunic with maroon linear elements. The right hand of a second figure survives at the same level more toward the center.

In the lower central area vestiges of the Virgin's white mattress remain along with bits of red decoration set against a very dark blue ground area. Tiny parts of her maroon *maphorion*, grey-blue *chiton*, and red shoes can also be seen *in situ*.

Finally, the seated figure of Joseph originally appeared at the lower left, his body facing toward Mary and his head resting on his right arm. Bits of maroon drapery color can be seen *in situ*.

e. *The East End Wall* (fig. 29)

Hardly any plaster remains adhering to the east end wall. Small, badly discolored fragments can be seen only along the groin where the vault joins the east end wall. Of the original pigment layer, it is possible to recognize only a few bits of what may have been portions of a grey-blue ground. Unfortunately, it is not possible to find any evidence for what—if any—figural scene may have been painted on this wall.

ANALYSIS OF THE PHYSICAL CONDITION OF THE  
NORTHEAST ROOM AND THE PAINTED PLASTER  
LAYERS

Careful examination of the interior and exterior masonry of the northeast room did not reveal any obvious structural defects by which moisture could penetrate the walls. Only the discoloration and damage found on the end walls, especially at the apex of the vault, directly suggest possible seepage through the structural fabric. A much more dangerous source of dampness in the room is the constant high humidity. Humidity readings taken at regular intervals with a hair hygrometer over the duration of our campaign gave an average daytime level of 89%. The dampness of the atmosphere would account for the growth of mold on the ex-

posed stone surfaces of the lower registers of all four walls as well as on the plastered surfaces of the upper part of the west wall, the south wall, and the eastern end of the apex of the vault. The case of fungal growth on the south wall, which is an internal wall, strongly suggests the high humidity as the source of the most damaging dampness currently threatening the newly exposed frescoes.

1. *The Frescoes on the Vault* (figs. 28, 30–37)

The largest area of extant fresco painting survives on the vault of the room. Even so, there are large losses in the painted plaster, especially in the central part of the south slope of the vault, and the lower parts of all the other figures on this side are gone as well. On the north slope little remains below the level of the bench seat except for apostle 7. Analysis of the physical condition of the painted plaster indicates the following points:

a. It is unclear whether the loss of painted plaster has been caused by an inherent weakness in the original plaster layers, deterioration of the structure, or human activity. Some combination of all three causes is likely.

b. The support and ground for the paint surface appear to have been built up with at least two layers of plaster. The support layer applied directly to the masonry is approximately 1.0 cm. thick but varies because of the unevenness of the stone surface; it is light cream in color, and when analyzed chemically and examined under the microscope it proved to be a simple mixture of lime with coarse and fine quartz sand filler. The ground (outer) plaster layer, *ca.* 0.5 cm. thick, is also a mixture of lime and sand filler, but the filler material is of a much finer gauge. The outer layer has, moreover, a very smooth, lime-rich surface approximately 1.0 mm. thick. Examination of the ground layer under a microscope indicates that this lime-rich surface was likely effected by a final hard troweling which brought the lime to the surface.

c. Adhesion between these two layers is reasonably good, but inspection revealed extensive air pockets between the plaster layers and the vault. At rough estimate, only 25 percent of the plaster support layer is still firmly attached to the vault.

d. The condition of the paint layer in the vault is, in general, poor. The surface is extremely friable, and there has been a considerable amount of flaking. Much pigment apparently came away with the overplaster. The original paint layer seems intact on the head and shoulders of apostle 5 and shows a reasonably high standard of workmanship. Elsewhere mostly underpainting and guide lines, executed in light or dark reddish-brown,

survive with traces only of the upper layer of the paint surface. Where the paint layer survives intact it is considerably discolored. This is particularly noticeable in the central section of the vault where there is a heavy deposit of carbon on the surface.

e. Intensive examination of the paint layer with a hand lens revealed two quite distinct standards of workmanship, commonly encountered in frescoes of this sort. The flesh tones and shading of the faces, particularly visible on apostle 5, have been achieved by carefully superimposing several paint layers. The technique used for painting the garments and background is less refined. The basic colors have been blocked in and the details were added, rather sketchily, later.

f. Minute samples of the paint layer with the plaster ground attached were taken from different areas of the vault for laboratory examination. The areas represented by the samples were as follows: the dark blue background between the apostles; the back of the wooden bench; the tunics and mantles of the apostles; the reddish-brown underpainting; and flesh tones from the face of apostle 5. Each sample was set in cold-cure polyester resin, sectioned, and polished. The results are summarized below.

The reddish-brown pigment used for the underpainting appears to have been applied to the plaster ground while it was still fresh, i.e., in a *buon fresco* technique. Some of the principal colors for background and garments were probably laid on in a similar way without the addition of a medium, but this requires further investigation to be certain. The cross section of a sample from the face of apostle 5 and another from the bench back shows a definite demarcation line between the paint layer and the plaster ground. This suggests that in areas where fine detail was required a medium was used with the pigment. This mixed technique was not uncommon in medieval, especially Byzantine, wall painting of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

g. The results of the chemical analysis of pigment samples indicate that a fairly limited and simple color palette was used. All the pigments identified from the representative selection were earth colors. The wide range of reddish brown pigments all contain ferric oxide as the main colorant. Yellow taken from a halo was identified as yellow ochre, which is a clay earth stained with iron oxide. A sample of green pigment taken from the flesh of apostle 5 proved to be a green earth, or *terre verte*, which is a hydrosilicate of iron, magnesium, aluminum, and calcium. The dark blue background between the figures was found not to

be a blue at all, but a mixture of carbon black and lime white.<sup>100</sup>

## 2. *The Frescoes on the Lower Side Walls* (figs. 36, 38, 39)

Below the level of the springing of the vault little plaster contemporary with that on the vault or end walls survives except for the fragments at the southwest and northwest end area and the intrados of the doorway described above. Analysis of these plaster layers and painted surfaces indicates that they belong to the same period of decoration as the vault and west end walls. However, the exposed paint surface is partly covered with remains of mold growth, beneath which the paint layer is extremely friable.

## 3. *The Frescoes on the West End Wall* (figs. 28, 40)

The extant painting on the upper west end wall in the vault area is more fragmentary than that on the vault itself, but it is the only other part of the northeast room with significant fresco remains. The tympanum-shaped flat surface of the upper end wall retains only bits of painting that are for the most part very hard to see. There are large losses of plaster and painted surface in the center of this area<sup>101</sup> and along the lower border. Technical analysis indicates the following points:

a. The observations made *supra*, 1a<sup>102</sup> and b, apply here as well.

b. Samples of support and ground plaster from this wall examined under a microscope are similar enough to those on the vault to indicate that the fresco decoration of this wall is contemporary with the vault.

c. Some of the over-plaster on the west wall may have fallen away a number of years ago, because the paint surface is obscured in certain places by both live and dead mold growth combined with a hard salt deposit. The paint layer beneath these deposits is much discolored and in an extremely friable condition.

d. The observations made *supra*, 1e-g, apply here as well, where there is corresponding material.

## 4. *The East End Wall* (fig. 29)

Only an irregular strip of discolored plaster is extant along the upper part of the wall where it joins the vault surface. It indicates the original ex-

<sup>100</sup> It is hoped that more information on pigments and media will be available later when the results from sophisticated chemical laboratory analysis have been obtained.

<sup>101</sup> This large oval loss is probably man-made because the plaster surrounding it is quite sound and well attached to the supporting wall.

<sup>102</sup> 1a applies except for the oval loss mentioned in note 101 *supra*.

istence of a frescoed surface contemporary with the vault, sidewalls, and west end wall.

*Discussion of the Frescoes in the Main Chapel*

On the basis of our survey of the Marqab Castle chapel, we would propose the following observations:

a. The relationship of the painted plaster layers indicates decisively that fresco work began in the northeast room and then continued on the lower apse wall. Underpainting for the apse proceeded smoothly up to a level of *ca.* 3.0 m. where the design changed. As the underdrawing for the upper part of the apse wall was underway, work was interrupted. Furthermore, the fact that no final painting with full pigmentation was initiated on the apse wall suggests that work was abruptly interrupted.

b. No underpainting could be identified in the apse conch, and no underpainting or even plastering contemporary with the work in the northeast room or apse wall could be found on the walls of the nave or in the southeast room. This evidence strongly suggests that all efforts to decorate the chapel with painting ceased after work was interrupted in the apse.

c. Whatever the overall plans conceived for the chapel as a whole, the actual execution of fresco decoration carried out after the chapel was built (the dating to be discussed below) was focused mainly on the northeast room. The precise nature and function of that room is still unclear, but the decision to start the decoration there may indicate for it some special importance to the soldiers of the garrison.

d. The program selected for the northeast room is in certain ways not unlike other contemporary examples of monumental painting in the Crusader states. Further consideration of the iconographic and stylistic aspects of these frescoes in the northeast room will help us better to assess the nature of these paintings and their date.

The artist(s), using a mixed technique common in Byzantine painting of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, also used standard Byzantine iconographic models. Although the Pentecost was more characteristically handled in a dome, as we see in the familiar examples at Hosios Loukas or San Marco,<sup>103</sup> the scene is not uncommon in a barrel vault, as, e.g., in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo,

in the Church of the Panagia Phorviotissa in Asinou, Cyprus, or in the Toqale Kilisse in the Goreme Valley, Cappadocia.<sup>104</sup>

The iconography in the Marqab scene has, however, been simplified considerably, having been reduced to the essentials of Acts 2:1–3, with the twelve seated apostles receiving the fiery rays from the clouds above.<sup>105</sup> It is impossible to tell if a representation of, e.g., a dove may have originally been planned for the center of the cloudy zone toward which most of the apostles look. No trace survives if anything was intended for this spot.

Among the apostles, only SS. Paul and Peter, apostles 9 and 10 respectively, seem identifiable based on their head types and central location. The lack of inscriptions and the fact that apparently all of the apostles hold scrolls and raise their right hands in blessing make it otherwise difficult to identify individual apostles.<sup>106</sup> One can observe, however, that this seems to be a fairly standard assortment of head types. Although the Pentecost scene at Monreale does not appear in a barrel vault, it is comparable in the simplification of its iconographical elements.<sup>107</sup>

Whereas most of the iconographic repertory found in the Marqab Pentecost, e.g., the continuous wooden high-backed bench,<sup>108</sup> is standard for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Byzantium, the one unusual element is the pointed, sausage-shaped cloud zone down the center of the vault. Though it corresponds to the simplified heavenly source in other images such as at Monreale or in the Melisende Psalter, the version at Marqab seems to be a local adaptation of a vaulted chamber. The direct source for the scene appears to have been a Byzantine or Crusader miniature (or a flat wall mosaic), however, because of the location of Paul and Peter in the center of the north side of the vault and the two beardless apostles at the ends of the south side. Unlike the composition in the Cap-

<sup>104</sup> *Idem*, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (New York, 1950), pl. 15; D. C. Winfield and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of Our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus," *DOP*, 21 (1967), 260; and Restle, *op. cit.* (note 81 *supra*), II, fig. 115.

<sup>105</sup> On the iconography of the Pentecost scenes, see Boyd, *op. cit.* (note 36 *supra*), 302–5 and note 106. See also S. Seeliger, "Pfingsten," *LChrl*, III, 415–23, with bibliography.

<sup>106</sup> The fact that some of the figures lack the lower parts of their bodies owing to damage makes certain identification impossible.

<sup>107</sup> The scene at Monreale is parallel to that at Marqab, e.g., in showing all of the disciples with scrolls. See Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (note 28 *supra*), pl. 75a.

<sup>108</sup> Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West" (note 37 *supra*), 76, fig. 6; Boyd, *op. cit.*, pl. 35; and Buchthal, *op. cit.* (note 33 *supra*), pl. 11b.

<sup>103</sup> O. Demus, "Probleme byzantinischer Kuppel-darstellungen," *CahArch*, 25 (1976), 101–8.

pella Palatina with Peter and Paul at the end of the vault, or the domical versions with Peter and Paul in the midst of a continuous and equal group, here the central placement seems more likely derived from a two-dimensional source which has been projected onto the vault.<sup>109</sup>

The same regional quality suggested by the particular configuration of the cloud zone is also found in the arcade with saints below. In particular, the meander and zigzag patterns found on the arches echo the love of such geometric decoration which is found elsewhere in contemporary painting in this region. The twelfth-century frescoes in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Qar'a, midway between Damascus and Homs, have a Virgin and Child with an arch comprised of a flat, angular cable pattern.<sup>110</sup> The twelfth-century church of Mar Phocas at Amioun, southeast of Tripoli, has a standing male saint with a donor in a similar arch.<sup>111</sup> Finally, the lower apse wall of the mid-thirteenth-century church of Mar Tadros at Bahdeidat near Batrun in Lebanon has an arcade along the lower apse wall with similar geometric cable arch decoration.<sup>112</sup> The designs on the Marqab arcades are not exactly the same as these cable designs but the use of such designs on the arches, the proportions of the arches, and the relationship of both to the saints with large haloes are quite similar.<sup>113</sup>

The scene of the Nativity on the west end wall is too fragmentary to enable us to say very much about its iconography. In general, we can observe that its composition is comparable in the location of elements with the grotto mosaic of the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.<sup>114</sup> It is unclear if the wash-

ing of the child episode appeared in the Marqab fresco originally. If not, as is likely, this would be another manifestation of the same simplification of iconography seen in the Pentecost scene as well.

Only the two Magi survive adequately to comment on individually. By appearing in the landscape in the upper left quadrant of the painting they indicate that the artist was no doubt following a Byzantine compositional model like the grotto mosaic in Bethlehem. However, the iconography of the individual figures is not fully Byzantine.<sup>115</sup> Although the ages of the three figures correspond to Middle Byzantine norms, one youthful and beardless, one mature with dark beard, and presumably one older with white hair and beard, the costumes are Western: the tunics with red cloaks which they wear are more characteristically Western. The pillbox hats may be misunderstood versions of the priestly headdresses worn by Byzantine Magi, reflecting Western ambivalence even when the iconography of the crowns becomes frequent *ca.* 1200.<sup>116</sup> The resulting figures resemble nobles in contemporary Mediterranean painting, such as the Maccabee figure in the San Daniele Bible.<sup>117</sup>

The program of the northeast room is rather

photo of the mosaic in the grotto before conservation, see G. E. Matson, *The Middle East in Pictures* (New York, 1980), I, 134, fig. 207. H. Maguire has now shown that the *ekphrasis* of Johannes Phocas on the grotto mosaic was based on a sixth-century description by Choricus on mosaics in the church of St. Sergius in Gaza. Nonetheless, the elements of the traditional imagery found in the Bethlehem mosaic correspond closely to Phocas' account, as do, *mutatis mutandis*, those of the fresco in Marqab Castle. It is in the specific details, e.g., the pose of the Virgin or the activities of the Magi, that Phocas betrays his reliance on an earlier text and not a direct description of the grotto mosaic *in situ*. See H. Maguire, "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 116 ff., 123, 140. One wonders if the *ekphrasis* of the Gaza mosaic could have influenced in any way the image of the Bethlehem grotto mosaic.

<sup>115</sup> Contrast details of the iconography here with the more or less contemporary Byzantine parallels farther afield at Lagoudera (1192) or Perachorio on Cyprus. Cf. A. and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (Cyprus, 1964), 73, 75, and 147–50, figs. 30, 31; and M. Frazer, "Byzantine Art and the West," *The Year 1200*, II (New York, 1970), 187 and fig. 247; and Megaw and Hawkins, *op. cit.* (note 78 *supra*), 314–20, fig. 30.

<sup>116</sup> Compare, e.g., the Byzantine iconography of the Magi in the mosaic in the church of Hosios Loukas or the miniature in Queen Melisende's Psalter with the Western versions of the Klosterneuburg altarpiece or the Berthold Missal: E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 49–54, fig. 4; Buchthal, *op. cit.* (note 33 *supra*), pl. 2b; F. Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar* (Vienna, 1955), 65, pl. 12; and H. Swarzenski, *The Berthold Missal* (New York, 1943), 45, 47, 49, pl. VIII, and the frontispiece.

<sup>117</sup> For the San Daniele Bible, see V. Pace, "Un'ipotesi per la storia della produzione libraria italo-meridionale: la Bibbia 'bizantina' di San Daniele del Friuli," *La Miniatura Italiana in Età Romanica e Gotica*, *Atti del I° Congresso di Storia della Miniatura*

<sup>109</sup> The composition in the Marqab vault is easier to understand as an adaptation of the type found, for example, in the Byzantine twelfth-century icon from Mt. Sinai or the Psalter of Queen Melisende (cited in note 108 *supra*) than as a development from a dome (e.g., Hosios Loukas, or San Marco in Venice) or a vault (e.g., the Cappella Palatina in Palermo). The problem is also addressed by Demus, "Probleme," 101 ff.

<sup>110</sup> J. Leroy, "Découvertes de peintures Chrétiennes en Syrie," *AArchSyr*, 25 (1975), 107, pl. 1, fig. 1.

<sup>111</sup> There are no published photographs that show this detail in the articles mentioning Mar Phocas at Amioun. See note 19 *supra*; Tallon, *op. cit.* (note 9 *supra*), 290–91; and P. Coupel, "Trois petites églises du comté de Tripoli," *BMBeyr*, 5 (1941), 35 ff., esp. 46–52.

<sup>112</sup> Again, with this church there are no published photos. The church and its frescoes are referred to in Tallon, *op. cit.*, 294.

<sup>113</sup> See also the geometric design around the edge of the shield of King Canute, one of the figures painted on the columns of the nave of the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The most accessible illustration is the line drawing in de Sandoli, *op. cit.* (note 70 *supra*), 218 (#295). For other references, see Folda in *Crusades*, IV, 255 note 3 (note 4 *supra*).

<sup>114</sup> For the grotto mosaic in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, see Folda, *Crusades*, IV, 257–58 and pl. 31a. For a

unusual. It is not common for the Pentecost or the Nativity to appear in the Byzantine prothesis or diaconicon. Customarily, these scenes from the Great Feast cycle appear in the main space of the church. Even the Pentecost in the Cappella Palatina belongs to this accessible area in the transept. By choosing the Nativity and Pentecost at Marqab, the artist(s) has telescoped the Byzantine Feast cycle into one early and one late scene, leaving us to wonder what may have been intended for the main nave and apse areas. Furthermore, we can only guess at what appeared originally on the east end wall of the northeast room. Perhaps it was iconographically related to the Pentecost, as were the images of the *Phylai* and *Glossai* found in the west end lunette of the vault in the Cappella Palatina.<sup>118</sup> Of course, there are a variety of other possibilities, including another Feast picture. Whatever the scene at the east end, the combination of Nativity, Pentecost, and arcades of saints suggests the program for a room that served some special role in the Marqab chapel. Possibly it was a private chapel for the garrison commander or the bishop of Baniyas, who apparently resided there after 1188. Further archeological investigation may shed light on this problem. Whatever the function of the chapel, the program seems to be a concentrated regional adaptation of familiar, but simplified, Byzantine models in one small room which combines Eastern and Western iconographic elements.

The dating of the paintings in the Marqab chapel is archeologically and historically determined to fall between 1186–87, when the Hospitallers built the chapel, and 1285, when the Mamlukes took control.

Stylistically the Marqab paintings are difficult to assess because of their physical condition, their provincial character, and their state of preservation, not to mention the lack of contextual comparison. In relation to the paintings at Crac des Chevaliers it seems unlikely that the same artists could have worked in both places, although the plaster and painting techniques are quite similar. However, the frescoes at Crac are of comparable quality to those at Marqab. The problem at Marqab is that with the loss of much surface pigment and the retouching it is often difficult to reconstruct a passage as substantial as the Presentation in the Temple at Crac.

The similarities between the paintings at Marqab

and Crac in various aspects of the handling—like the reddish brown underdrawing, the color palette, the modeling of the flesh (especially the face), but the more simple two-dimensional rendering of hands, arms, and drapery—lead one to think they cannot be too far apart in date. Considering the stylistic developments in Crusader manuscripts after ca. 1250, there seems to be no reason to associate these works with mid-thirteenth-century Crusader painting. Various points and comparisons made in the discussion above direct our attention also to a date in the twelfth century. This seems borne out if we compare the head of apostle 5 from the northeast room with some heads of the standing saints on the columns at Bethlehem. The head of apostle 5 seems in basic conception to have much in common with the heads, e.g., of St. Leo or St. Blasius, in contrast to the more refined late twelfth-century styles on Cyprus or farther afield.<sup>119</sup> Seen in this light, the artist(s) here seems non-Byzantine, but he painted in the Byzantine mode, another example of the Levantine Crusader style.

With these considerations in mind, we should like to propose as a working hypothesis that the Marqab paintings were done in the late twelfth century, sometime between the completion of the chapel and the earthquake of 20 May 1202. Although we cannot yet absolutely exclude the possibility that these paintings date after 1202, in the early thirteenth century, it seems more likely on archeological, art historical, or historical grounds that they were done shortly before 1202. The visual evidence supports a late twelfth-century date. The archeological evidence that the work was abruptly interrupted more likely applies to the troubled years during Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's campaigns up to the time of the earthquake in 1202.<sup>120</sup> Quite conceivably, the fresco work was interrupted in order to devote all possible manpower to the new and substantial defenses needed during the years immediately after 1186–87 or in 1202. Why the painted decoration was

<sup>119</sup> Folda, *Crusades*, IV, 256, pl. 33d; A. H. S. Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes in Cyprus," *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Ochride 1961*, III (Belgrade, 1964), 257–66; and Djurić, "La Peinture murale byzantine," (note 43 *supra*), 20–28.

<sup>120</sup> Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 127 ff.; R. B. C. Huygens, "La Campagne de Saladin en Syrie du Nord (1188)," *Colloque Apamée de Syrie* (Brussels, 1972), 273–83. The important dissertation by J. W. Hackett, "Saladin's Campaign of 1188 in Northern Syria . . ." (Oxford, 1937), has never been published. See also now the recent general work of N. Elisséeff, *L'Orient musulman au Moyen Age: 622–1260* (Paris, 1977), 282 ff. For the earthquake of 20 May 1202, see Mayer, *op. cit.* (note 5 *supra*).

*Italiana* (Florence, 1979), 144, fig. 12. In the Marqab fresco there are, of course, no jewels on the Magis' hats.

<sup>118</sup> Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (note 104 *supra*), 41.

never completed we cannot now say, but it would seem to have more to do with the supply of artists rather than the advent of the Mamlukes.

#### CONCLUSION

In several different publications Paul Deschamps argued that the chapels at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab, indeed all castle chapels of the military orders, "étaient ornées d'une décoration essentiellement militaire."<sup>121</sup> He specifically had in mind references in medieval texts by, e.g., Jean de Joinville or Bohemond III of Antioch to arms or armor or other military trophies that may have been hung in these chapels.

The timing and sequence of the finding of the frescoes reported on above did not cause Deschamps to alter his views on the decoration of these Hospitaller and Templar castle chapels. The "baptismal chapel" at Crac (found in 1935) was outside the castle, and the Presentation in the Temple fragment (found in 1955) was executed for some kind of exterior appendage to the main chapel. All of the frescoes recognized and discovered inside the main chapels at Crac and Marqab were found in 1978 and 1979, several years after the death of Paul Deschamps.

These newly found frescoes necessitate reconsideration of Deschamps' arguments. If our proposals are accepted, namely, that the main chapel at Crac was heavily decorated with frescoes and that frescoes were planned and work started in the Marqab chapel (although never completed), some modifications of Deschamps' views are in order.

Two important points should be made immediately. First, even if the chapels at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle were decorated with frescoes, wholly or in part, the presence of military decoration in the form of armor, weapons, or other trophies and memorabilia is not by any means excluded. Second, we should keep in mind that both Crac and Marqab were controlled by the Hospitallers. Hence, the issue of how Templar chapels were decorated may well be quite valid in the terms which Deschamps proposed, basing himself on St. Bernard.<sup>122</sup> In sum, the extant frescoes at Crac and Marqab demonstrate only that Hospitaller castle

chapels received significant fresco painting in addition to whatever else may have decorated their interior.

The survival of numerous figural fragments from the "baptismal chapel" at Crac, as contrasted with the meager colored fragments *in situ* in the main chapel, can only be seen at present as accidental and does not appear to indicate different intentions. Thus we conclude that extensive figural decorations in fresco were intended for both chapels. The same appears to be true at Marqab, where work in the main chapel apse was interrupted and apparently never continued.

The presence of these fresco paintings in the chapels at Crac and Marqab once again raises the question of artistic patronage in the Hospitaller and Templar orders. I have argued elsewhere that the Hospitallers were far more active than the Templars in terms of commissioning figural arts in the Crusader states.<sup>123</sup> These present examples reinforce this notion, especially in the absence of evidence of fresco decoration in prominent Templar churches and chapels in the region, like Safita and Tortosa.<sup>124</sup>

The overall significance of these frescoes must not, however, be obscured by their survival in Hospitaller chapels. These fresco decorations at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab are the only Crusader monumental paintings to survive *in situ* in any Crusader castle chapel. Medieval and modern pilgrims and travelers unfortunately say very little about such things. The castle chapel at Kerak retained in the nineteenth century Crusader fresco decoration which the English naval officers Irby and Mangles reported in their travels.<sup>125</sup> Other very fragmentary paintings have come to light in the excavations of Montfort and Belvoir.<sup>126</sup> So far, however, these fragments at Crac and Marqab give us our only substantial notion of what this monumental painting in remote Crusader garrisons looked like. The fact that these castles are also

<sup>123</sup> Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination* (note 31 *supra*), chaps. 3 and 4.

<sup>124</sup> The paintings at Crac and Marqab also reinforce the probability of frescoes in the Hospitaller headquarters complex in Acre, as proposed *ibid.*, 103 ff.

<sup>125</sup> Ch. L. Irby and J. Mangles, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land, including a Journey round the Dead Sea, and through the Country East of the Jordan* (London, 1868), 111. Deschamps also mentions these paintings but says he never saw them.

<sup>126</sup> For Montfort, see Dean, *op. cit.* (note 24 *supra*). The findings at Belvoir by M. Ben-Dov have been reported only very briefly (in Hebrew) in *Qadmoniot*, 2 (1969), 22–47. The existence of painting fragments in the castle chapel has been reported to me only verbally.

<sup>121</sup> Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 157. See also *idem*, "Les Châteaux des croisés dans l'ancien comté de Tripoli de Syrie," *RAAM*, 69 (1936), 96 f., 99; and *idem*, *Les Châteaux*, I, *Le Crac*, 95–96. In this 1934 publication Deschamps observes that churches of the orders "pouvaient être peintes," like that at Abu Ghosh, but in general castle chapels had military decoration.

<sup>122</sup> Deschamps, "Les Châteaux des croisés," 96 f., 99.

Hospitaller may help explain the source of supply of the artists and the artistic ties to major centers like Jerusalem or Acre.

A major difficulty arises, however, in attempting to assess the importance of these works. The frescoes at Crac and Marqab are the only firmly attributed paintings extant from the northern Crusader holdings in the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch.<sup>127</sup> Because of their Hospitaller patronage it appears they must be evaluated in terms of both this northern region and the Hospitaller headquarters in Jerusalem and St. Jean d'Acre. We can clearly see that the fresco paintings at Marqab and Crac show striking variety in a period when to the south, especially in the Jerusalem region, little Crusader painting was apparently done. Within this variety we indeed find a microcosm of Crusader painting found elsewhere at other times. We see Crusader artists who work in strongly Byzantine-influenced modes—the Levantine Crusader style—and in more heavily Western-influenced styles—what we might call the colonial Crusader style. Both of these styles are distinct from the purely Byzantine work found at Mar Phocas in Amioun or on Cyprus.

In light of what we have seen above the contribution of the northern region in terms of artistic ideas and even possibly artists should not be excluded. There seems to be in these frescoes at Crac and Marqab a regional component that is perhaps more strongly visible here than elsewhere in the

Crusader states. From an iconographic point of view Weitzmann has argued convincingly that some of the icons in St. Catherine's monastery on Mt. Sinai show evidence of direct association with the holy site for which they were executed. The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, in regional terms for our frescoes in some aspects of both style and iconography, that is, e.g., the strong outline style of the drapery is closely related to work in the region in general; the geometric arcading is important in Syria; the seated Virgin *hodeghetria* has a long tradition in Syria as does the cult of St. George; and the iconography is simplified and modified with unusual additions such as the youthful standing male figure in the Presentation. All of these aspects seem to be evidence in these paintings of a regional component which differentiates northern Crusader painting from that of the more courtly urban centers of Jerusalem and Acre in the south.

Further work on these tantalizing fragments at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle as well as on other Crusader monumental painting will no doubt help clarify what is plainly another whole chapter in the history of Crusader art.

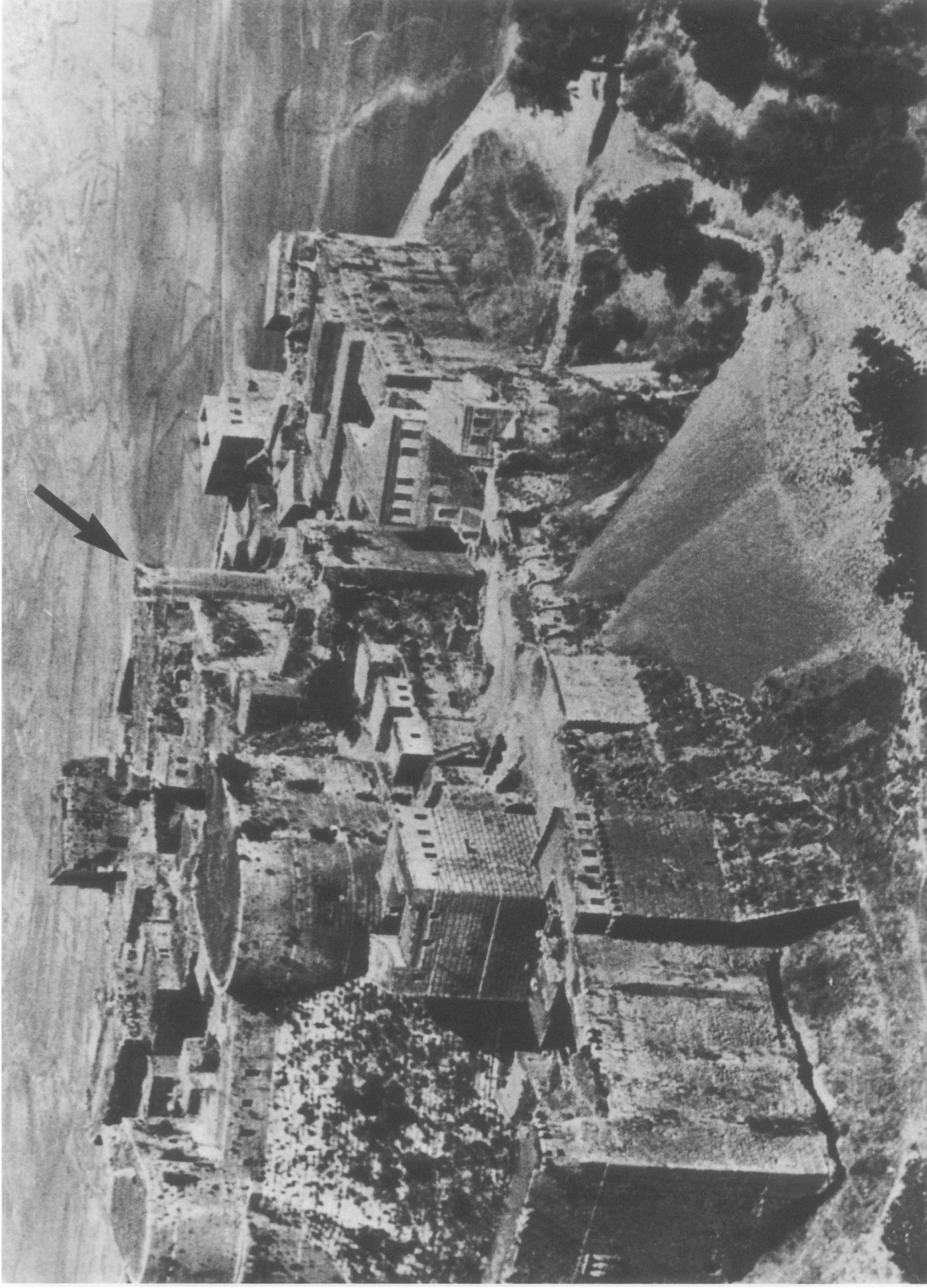
University of North Carolina  
Chapel Hill

<sup>127</sup>Crac des Chevaliers was located in the county of Tripoli; Marqab Castle came within the boundaries of the principality of Antioch: see Deschamps, *Les Châteaux*, III, *Tripoli et Antioche*, 7 ff., 35 ff., 259 ff.; and the maps in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, I, *The First Hundred Years*, ed. M. W. Baldwin (Madison, 1969), maps 9, 10, 12, 13, 14; II, *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, ed. R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1969), maps 18, 19. The problem of Crusader paintings in the northern territories has been addressed preliminarily in several articles dealing mainly with manuscript illumination in the thirteenth century. See Folda, "Crusader Painting" (note 41 *supra*); and *idem*, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," *RendPontAcc*, ser. 3, 42 (1969–70), 283–98.

*Postscript:* While this text was being edited, the Syrian Department of Antiquities and Museums remounted seven fragments from the baptismal chapel at Crac des Chevaliers. They are now (January 1982) hung on the walls of the large room at the top of the rectangular tower "P" (on the plan of Paul Deschamps).

Four articles relevant to the frescoes discussed above reached me too late to be incorporated into our discussion: D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *DOP*, 34–35 (1980–81), 77–124; and articles by Erica C. Dodd, Lucy-Anne Hunt, and Annemarie Weyl Carr in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, J. Folda, ed., BAR International Series (Oxford, 1983).





1. Crac des Chevaliers, View from Southeast showing Chapel (arrow)



2. Looking East



3. Looking West

Crac des Chevaliers, Main Castle Chapel, Interior



4. General View, with Beginning and End of Upper Fragments (arrow)



5. Detail, "Peninsula"-shaped Fragment (arrow)

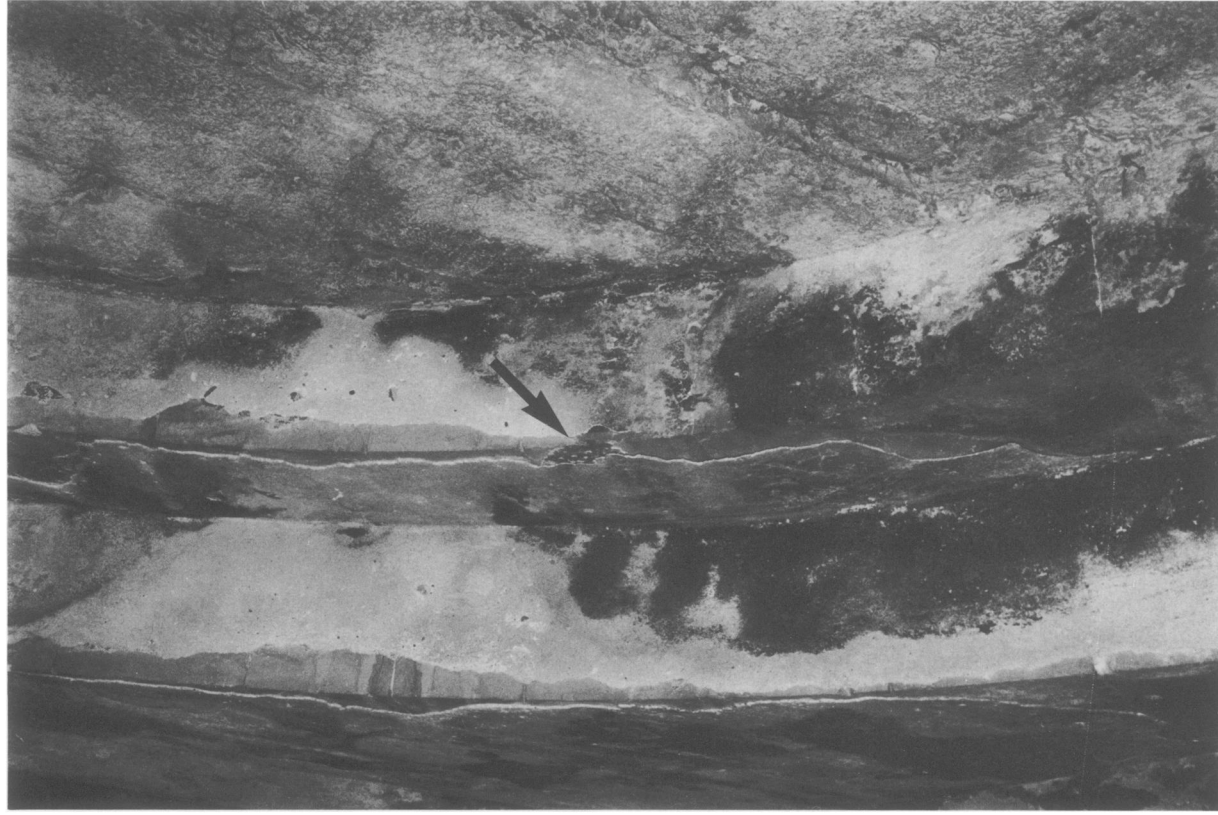


6. Center Bay, Blind Arcade, with Two Fragments (arrows)

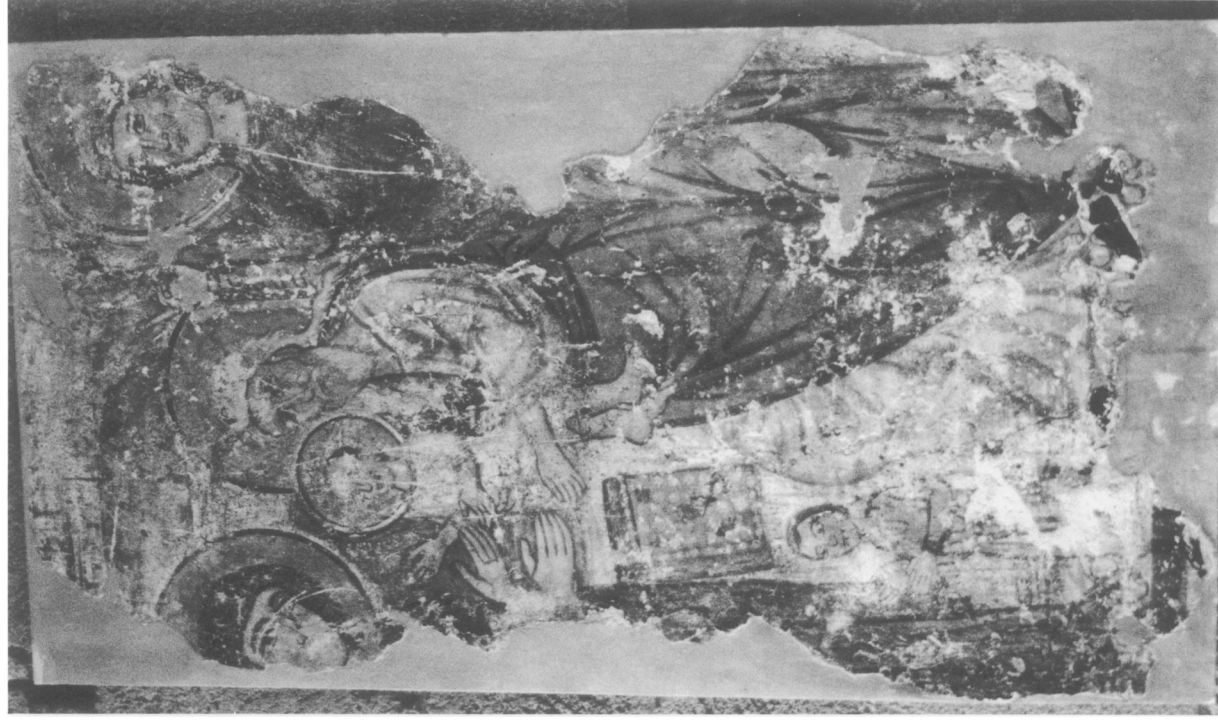


7. East Bay, Blind Arcade, with Main Fragment (arrow)

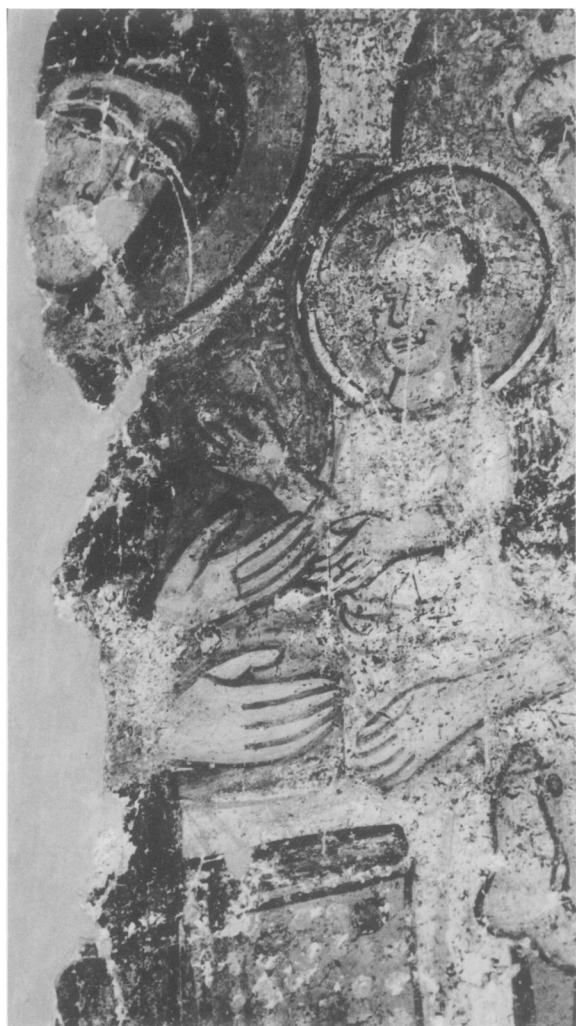




8. Crac des Chevaliers, Main Castle Chapel, North Wall, Center Bay, Voussoir Fragment, detail (arrow)



9. Tartus Museum. The Presentation in the Temple Fragment from Crac des Chevaliers, General View, including Armature



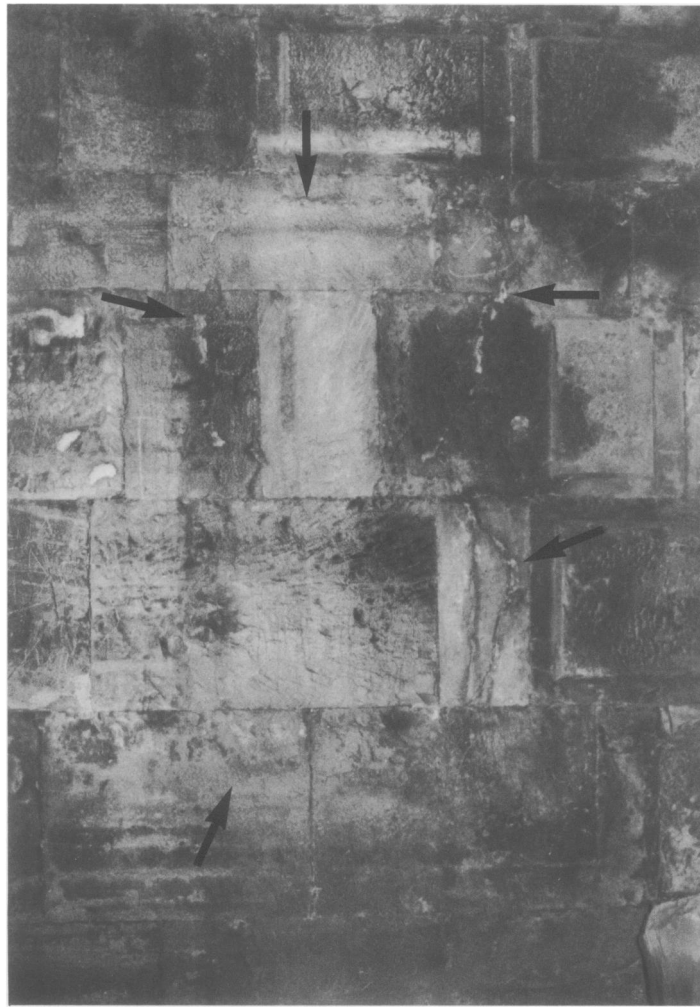
a. Mary and Jesus



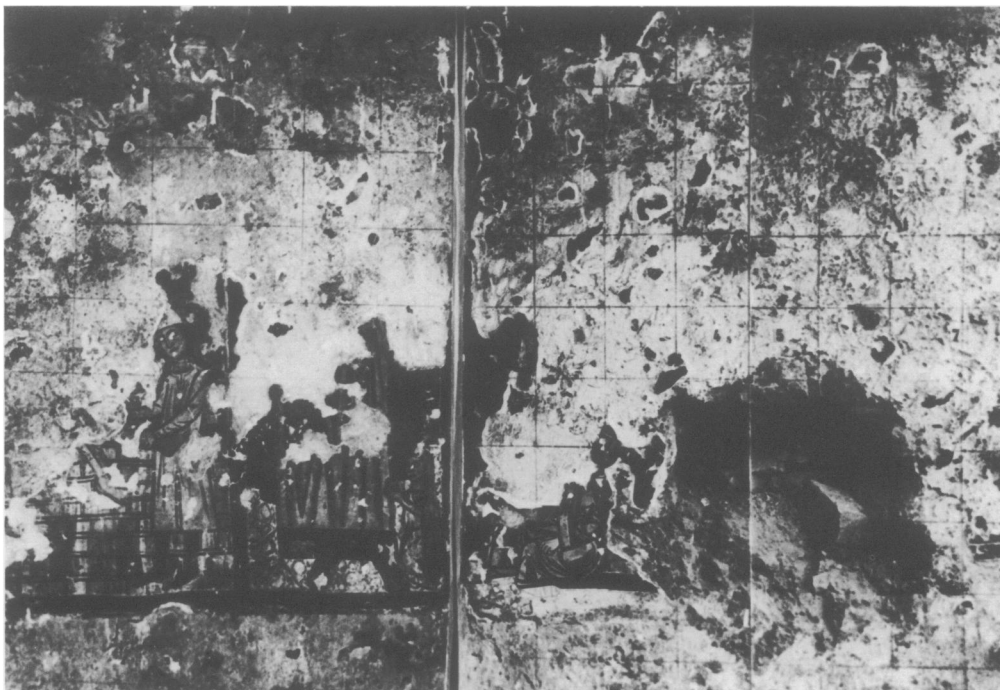
c. Unidentified Youthful Male Figure



b. Heads of Mary, Jesus, Simeon, and Anna



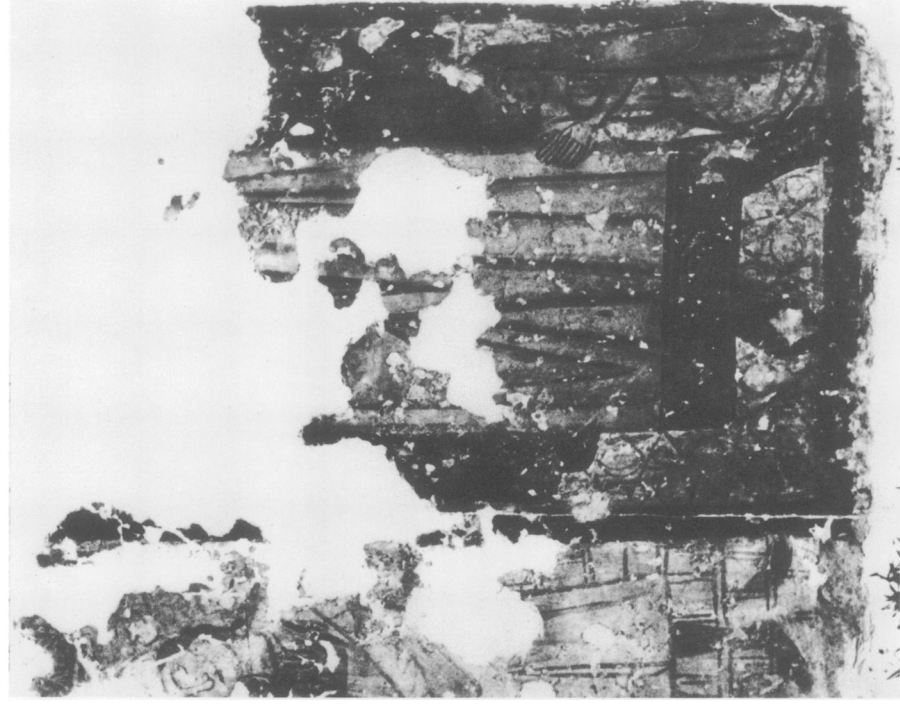
11. Main Castle Chapel, Exterior North Wall, with Plaster Remains of Detached Presentation Fresco (arrows)



12. "Baptismal Chapel." Fresco Fragments on South and West Walls, in Corner, with Original Grid, *in situ*



13. Left Side



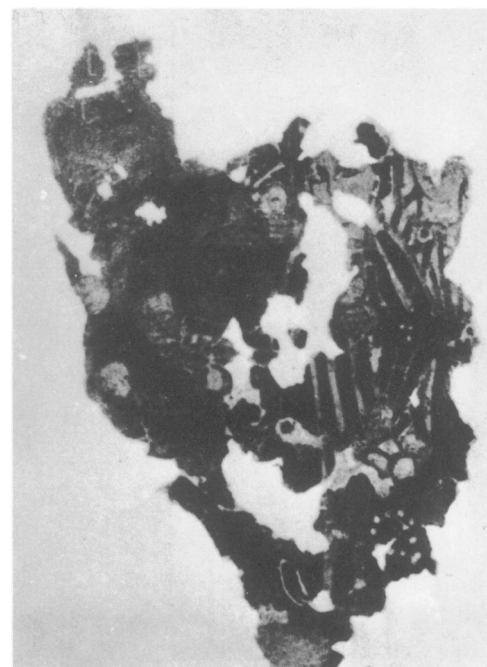
14. Right Side

Crac des Chevaliers, "Baptismal Chapel," South Wall. Fresco Fragment, details

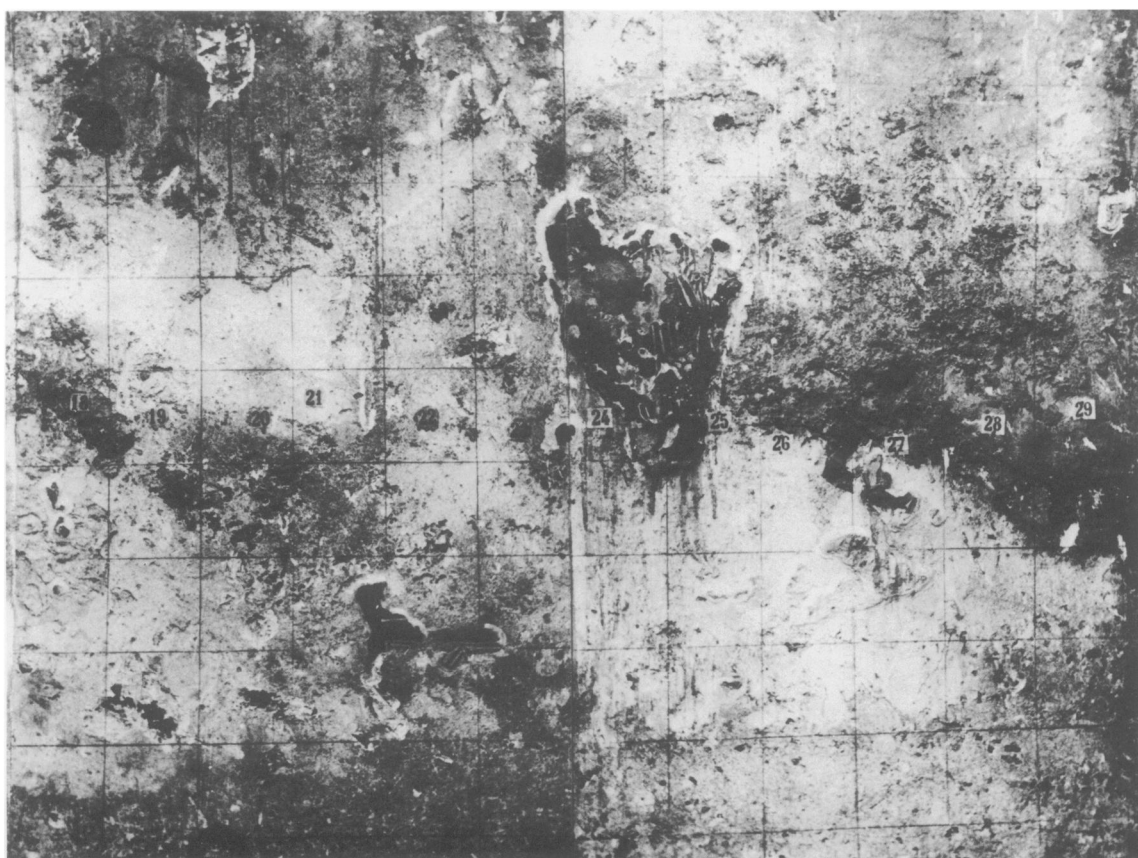




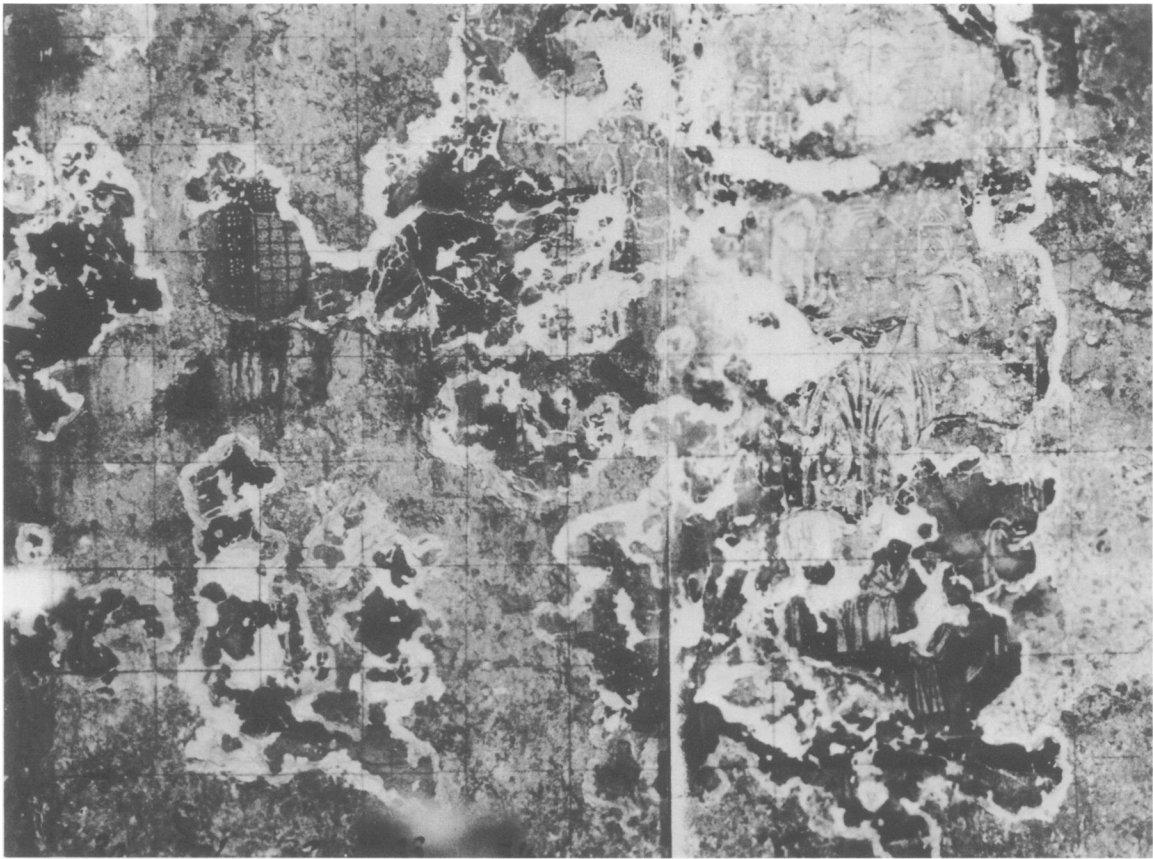
15. Detail (W:1-3, b-d), *in situ* (cf. fig. 12)



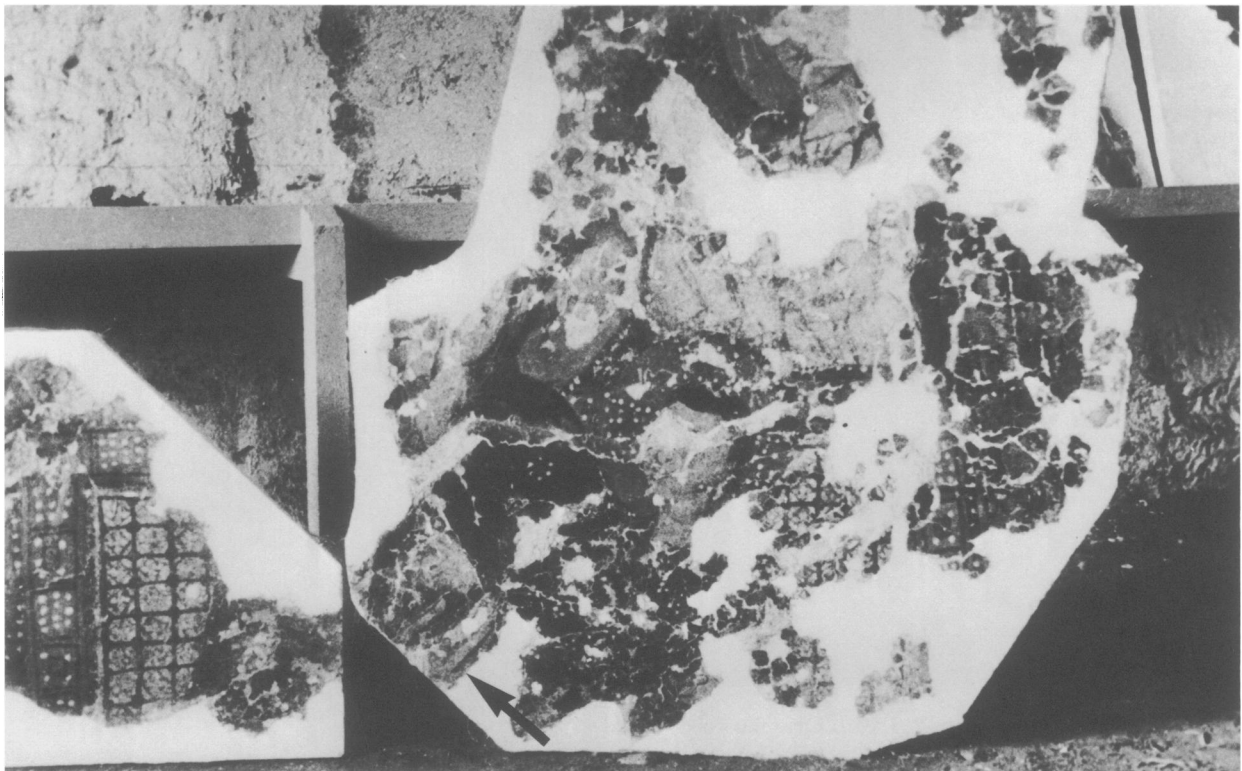
17. Detail (W:23-25, f-h)



16. General View (W:18-29), with Original Grid, *in situ*



18. Detail (W:33–43), with Original Grid, *in situ*



19. Detail (W:35/36, g/h; W:37–39, g–i), with Hand of Virgin (arrow)

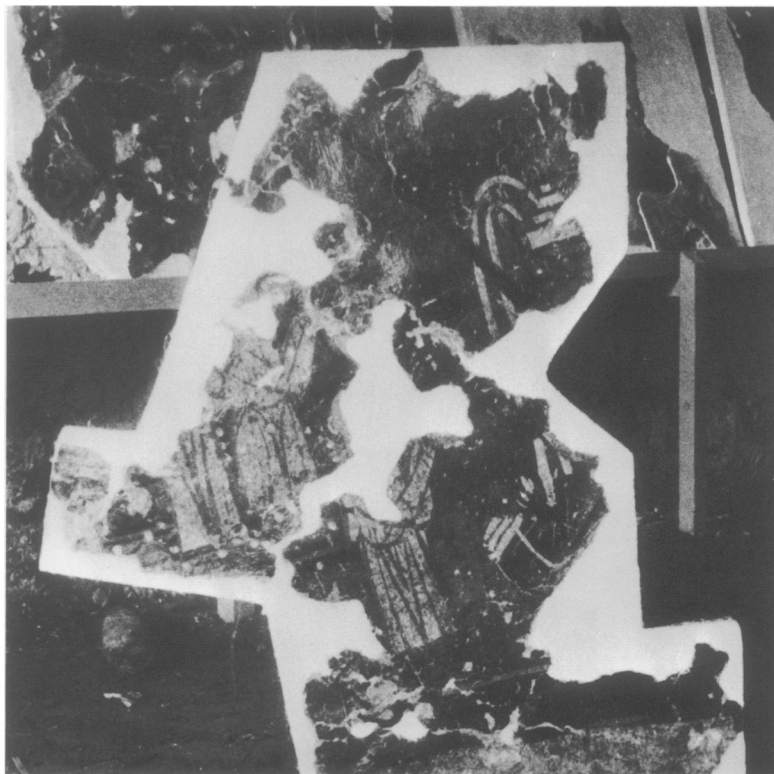


a. *In situ*



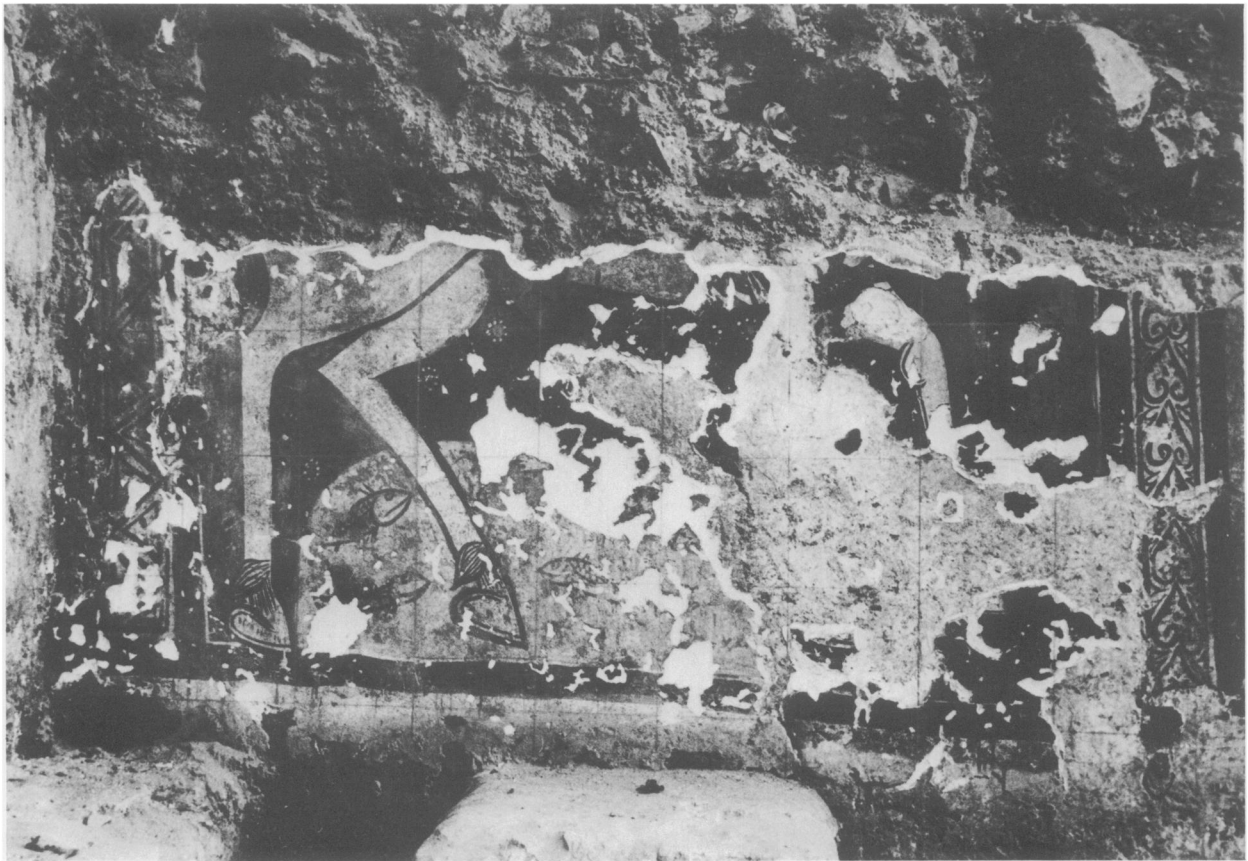
b. Detail, on Storage Armature (1979)

20. St. Pantaleon (W:41/42,g-j)



21. Detail (W:39-42,b-f)  
Crac des Chevaliers, "Baptismal Chapel," West Wall. Fresco Fragments

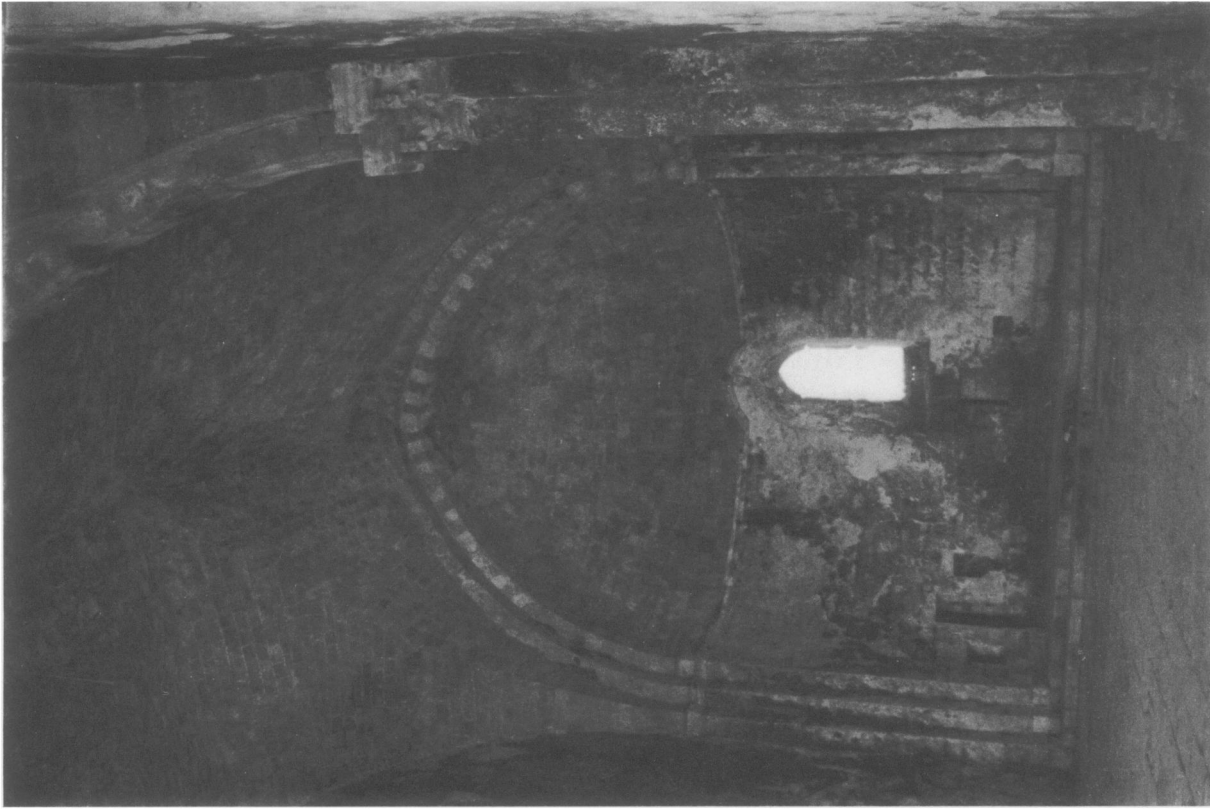




22. Crac des Chevaliers, "Baptismal Chapel," North Wall. Fresco Fragment (N:1-11), with Original Grid, *in situ*



23. Marqab Castle, Chapel, General View

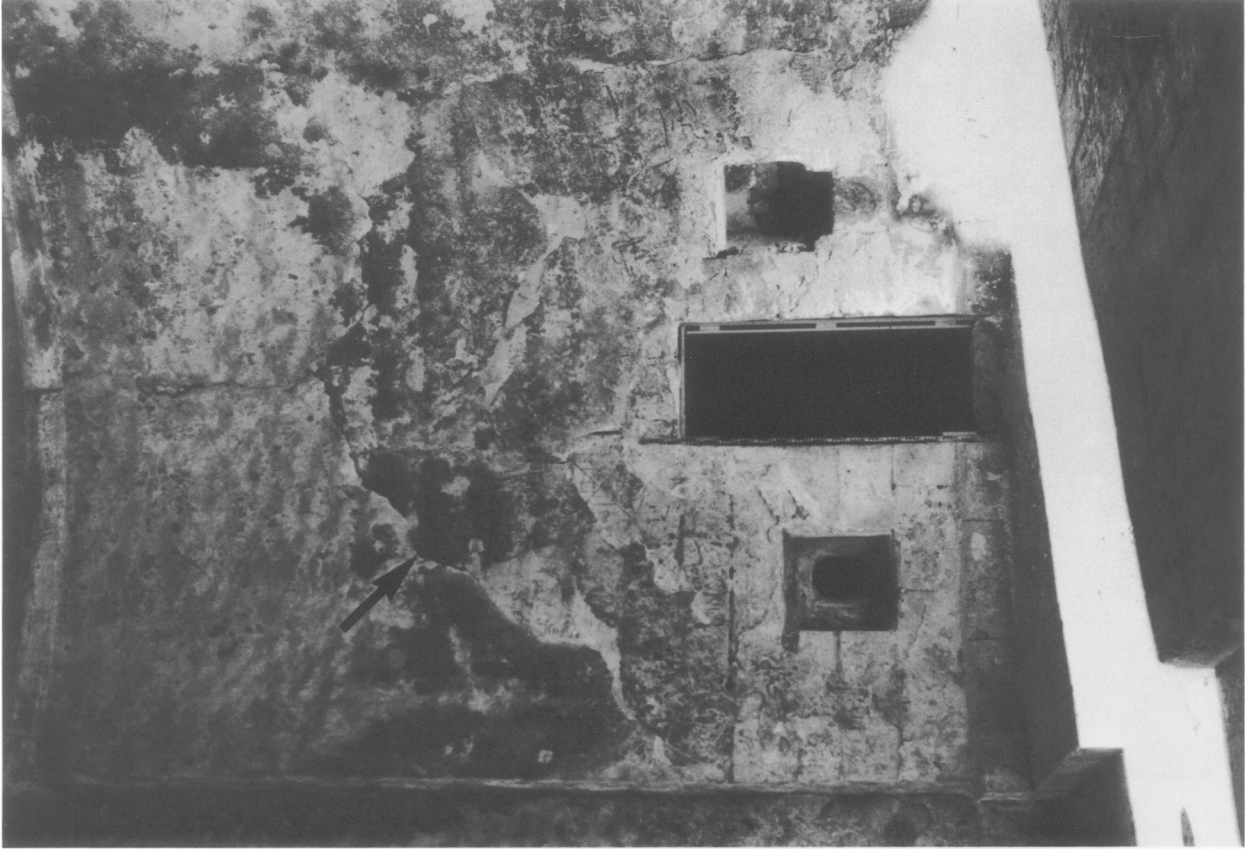


24. Looking East

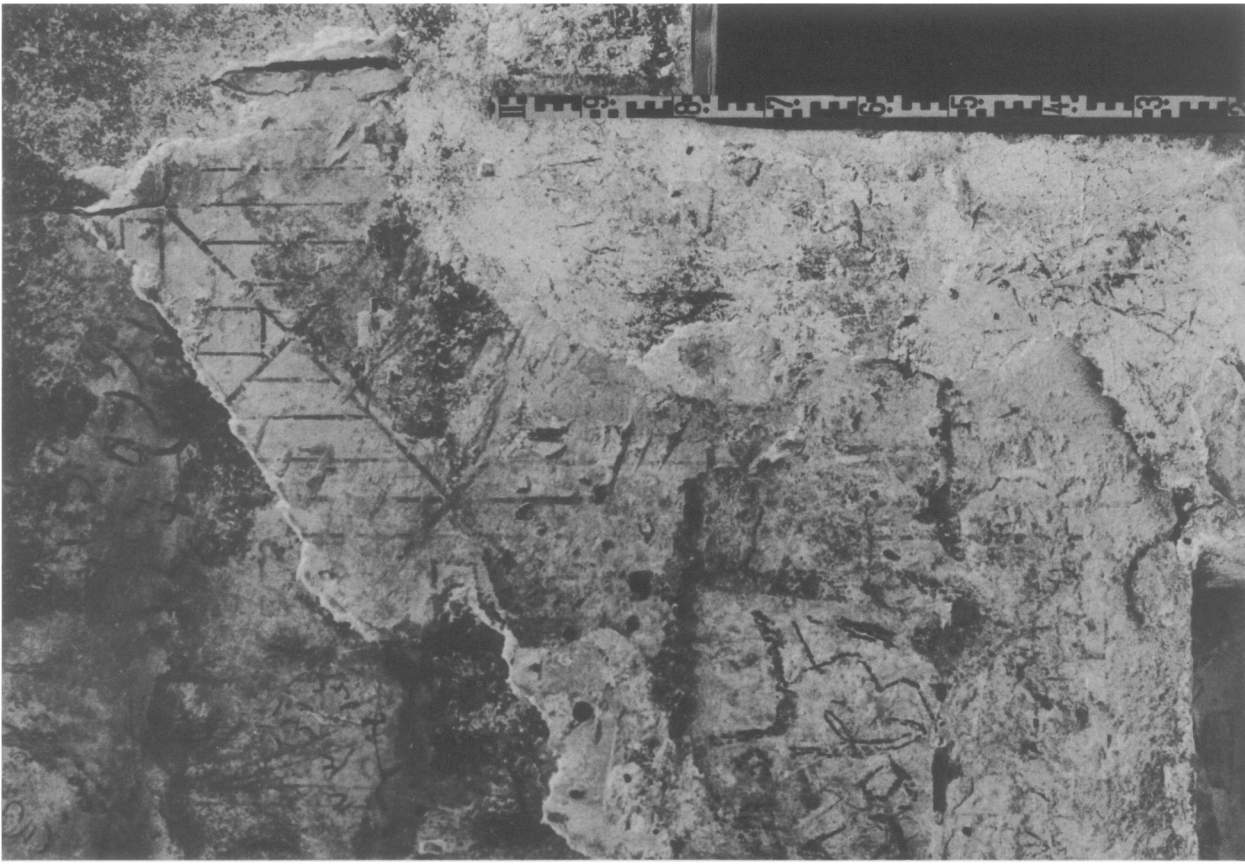


25. Looking West

Marqab Castle, Chapel, Interior



26. General View, showing Location of Upper Fragment (arrow)



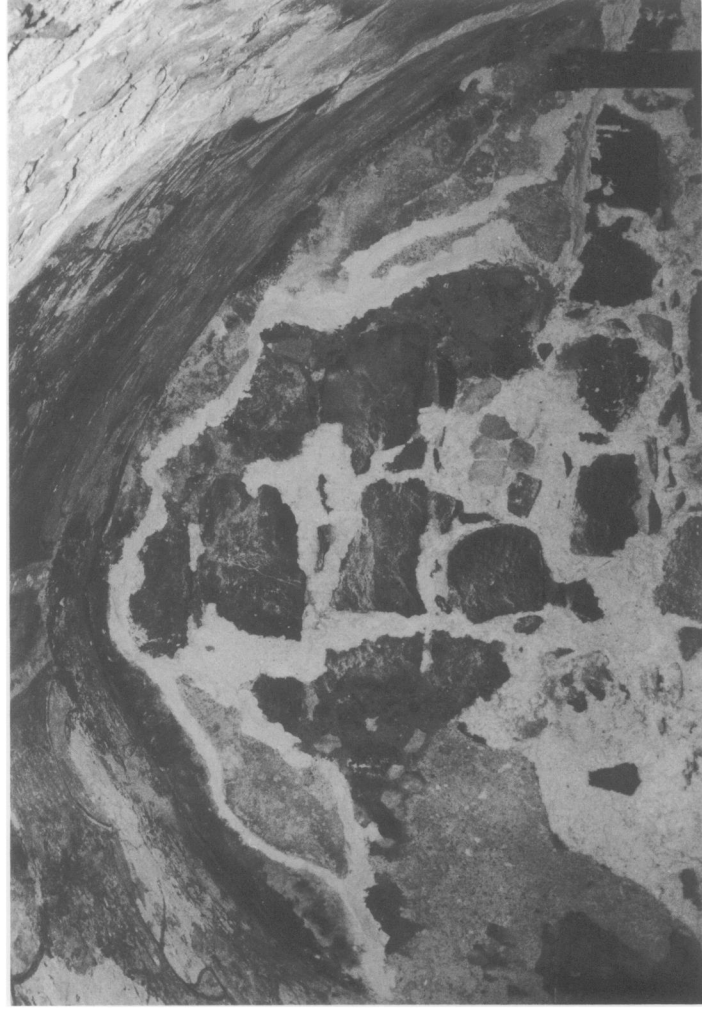
27. Detail, above and to left of Doorway to Northeast Room

Marqab Castle, Chapel, Apse Wall, North Sector. Fresco Fragments, *in situ*



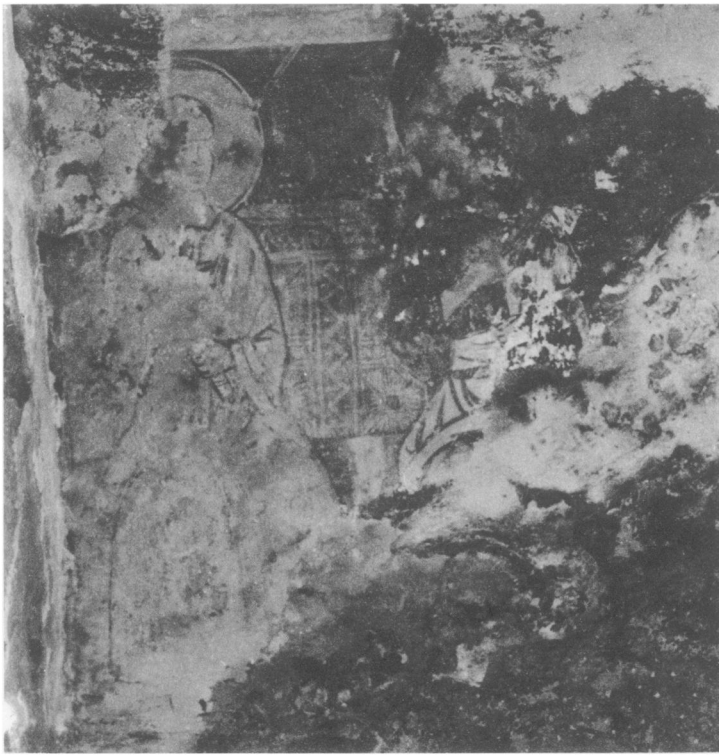


28. General View, looking West



29. General View above Window, looking East

Marqab Castle, Chapel, Northeast Room



30. 1978



31. 1979





32. Vault, South Slope. Heads of Apostles 3, 4, 5, and 6;  
North Slope, Heads of Apostles 8, 9, and 10; Central Cloudy Strip



33. Vault, South Slope. Apostles 5 and 6

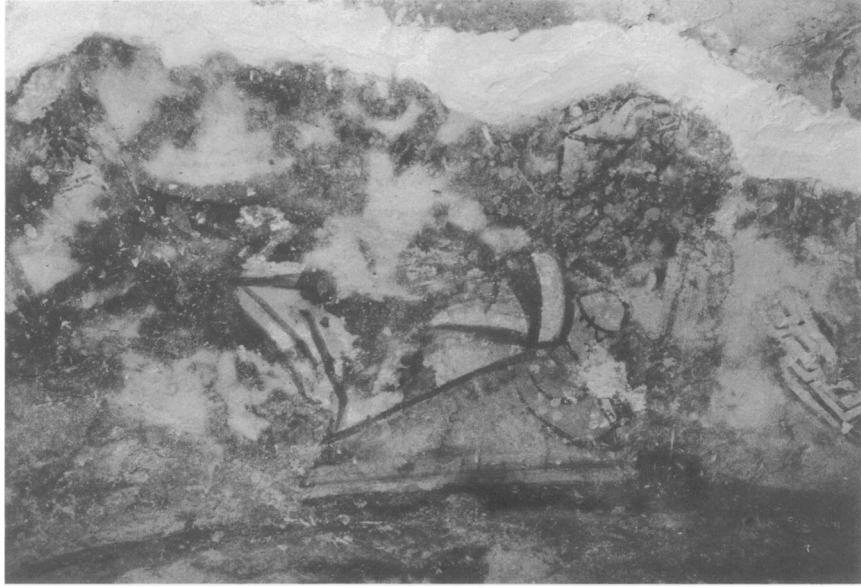
Marqab Castle, Chapel, Northeast Room



34. Vault, South Slope. Apostle 5, detail, Head and Upper Body



35. Vault, North Slope. Apostles 7, 8, 9, and 10



36. Apostle 7, detail, Legs and Sandaled Feet, with Border



37. Apostles 11 and 12



38. Arch below Apostle 7, detail, Halo of Saint

Marqab Castle, Chapel, Northeast Room, Vault, North Slope



39. South Wall. Rosettes below Apostles 5 and 6



40. West Wall. The Three Magi, detail